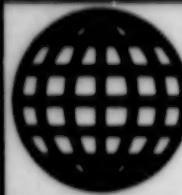


29 MARCH 1990



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# ***JPRS Report***

# **China**

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**QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]**  
*No 2, 16 January 1990*

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## Strive To Raise the Leadership Level of the Party Committees and Ensure the Party's Absolute Leadership Over the Army

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[Article by Chi Haotian (6688 3185 3944); based on a speech made at a study class of party committee secretaries organized by the Headquarters of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army]

[Text] Recently, the Central Military Commission pointed out that both historical and practical experiences have shown that we must strengthen political building and ensure the party's absolute leadership over the Army, and that this must be regarded as the most important task in the building of our Army. Grasping party building from the high plane of upholding the party's absolute leadership over the Army, while ensuring the party's absolute leadership over the Army in our party building is an important topic facing party building in the Army. To satisfy the demand that our party building conforms with the party's absolute leadership over the Army, we must solve problems in the four aspects of comprehension, system, principle, and methods.

### I. We Must Deepen Our Understanding of Ensuring the Party's Absolute Leadership Over the Army

The party's absolute leadership over the Army, and relations between the party and the Army are an old problem and a new problem as well. We say that it is an old problem because it was raised on the first day of the birth of our Army and defined several decades ago. We say that it is a new problem because today, more than 60 years after the founding of our Army, and under the new historical conditions of reform, opening up, and modernization, the basic principle of the party's absolute leadership over the Army is seriously challenged by the macro- and micro-climates both at home and abroad. Some people who are engaged in bourgeois liberalization spare no effort to preach "nonpoliticalization of the Army," and "separation between the party and the Army." Under the influence of the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization, a tiny number of people blindly copy bourgeois military theories of the West, and spread the idea of weakening the party's absolute leadership over the Army. We should realize that in recent years a large number of young comrades were put in leadership posts at all levels, and that some comrades have some confused ideas, because they lack profound understanding of the history of our party and Army. Therefore, it is necessary for us to integrate theories with practice, and history with reality, to further deepen our understanding of this problem, so that we will increase our consciousness and steadfastness for the building and administration of our Army.

I. The party's absolute leadership over the Army is a basic historical principle for army building. As early as in the period of the Northern Expedition, our party started its military career. At that time, our party not only

helped the Kuomintang [KMT] establish the Whampoa Military Academy, but also assigned a number of Communist Party members to work in the national revolutionary Army. The party also mastered military units like "Ye Ting's Independent Regiment" mainly composed of Communist Party members. But the Army was still under the leadership of the KMT as a whole. The "I August" Nanchang Uprising was the first shot fired by our party at the KMT reactionaries. At that time, the Army of the party was born. The process of the founding of the Army has shown that the Army was founded by the Communist Party, and that without the Communist Party, there would be no People's Army. Just as Marshal Zhu De pointed out: "Our contingent is organized by the Communist Party. Our People's Army can exist only with the existence of the Communist Party." The process of the founding of the People's Army also showed that our Army was full of the coloring of party spirit immediately after its birth, and that it serves the interests of the people under the party's absolute leadership. The party not only founded and created the People's Army, but also directly commanded and fostered it. Precisely because of life-and-death relations between the party and our Army, our marshals often cordially call our Army the "army of the party." The term the "army of the party" has not only epitomized flesh-and-blood relations between the party and the Army over the past 60 years or so, but has also clearly delineated the basic principle of our Army, namely, "our principle is that the party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the party." Just as Marshal Chen Yi pointed out, "The founding of our Army is not carried out on a purely technical basis. It is carried out on the basis of powerful political work. The task of founding our Army is to strengthen the party's political leadership over its Army. The slogan of the founding of our Army is to strive to establish a regularized army of the party." He added, "The first requirement for the establishment of the regularized Army of the party is to guarantee the party's absolute political leadership over the Army and develop the natural instincts of the Army, so that the whole Army obeys party leadership, implements party policy wholly, and executes orders resolutely."

Since the founding of the people's republic, our party has become a ruling party, and the Army led by the party has also become the Army of the state. The "PRC Constitution" adopted on 4 December 1982 stipulates: "The armed forces of the PRC belongs to the people." It also stipulates that the state establishes the Central Military Commission to lead armed forces of the whole country. Under such circumstances, some people set the party's leadership over the Army against the state's leadership over the Army, trying to discard the party's leadership over the Army under the pretext of the state's leadership over the Army. Some of the so-called "democratic fighters" have even clamored, "Our Army is the Army of the state and the people, but not the Army of the Communist Party alone." They tried to sow discord between the Army and the party. Actually, the stipulation contained

in our Constitution completely conforms with the party's absolute leadership over the Army. The Constitution clearly points out, "Under the leadership of the CPC and the guidance of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, people of various nationalities in China will continue to uphold the people's democratic dictatorship, and the socialist road." This has legally affirmed the leadership position of the CPC in our country. Upholding the party's leadership over the state, of course, includes party leadership over the Army, because the Army is an important component part of the state machine. The above-mentioned stipulation affirms the party's leadership over the Army in terms of law and the system of the state.

2. The party's absolute leadership over the Army has a firm Marxist theoretical basis. First, Marxism tells us that the Army is an important ingredient of the state power. Any party that intends to seize state power and maintain it must have a powerful army. The most important condition for the proletarian dictatorship is the establishment of the proletarian army. Without a people's army under the leadership of the proletarian political party, it is impossible to seize and consolidate political power, and carry out socialist construction. The Paris Commune, the October Revolution, and the path traversed by the Chinese revolution have proved such truth. In particular, reactionary forces in old China were very strong. Our revolution must be an armed revolution against armed counterrevolution. Without the People's Army and armed struggle, there would be no status of the proletariat, or the victory of the revolution. The People's Army and armed struggle have historically become a major magic weapon for the party leadership over the Chinese revolution. Second, Marxism tells us that the Army exists with the existence of the classes. Political struggle between conflicting forces is backed up by armed strength. When political struggle develops to extremes, war occurs. War is the continuation of politics and the highest form of political struggle. Any class that intends to defeat its enemy classes must have its own army. Any army in the world belongs to a certain class without exception and is led by representative figures of the class or its political party. An army of a capitalist country belongs to the state in name. But capitalist countries are countries where the bourgeoisie occupies a ruling position. Therefore, an army of any capitalist country is actually controlled by the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, and the highest form of the proletarian organization, and a faithful representative of the interests of the broad masses of laboring people. The People's Army can only belong to its own class and accept the leadership of the Communist Party.

3. The party's absolute leadership over the Army is a unique political strong point of our party and Army. Under the absolute leadership of the Army, relations between our party and Army are characterized by "unification." The aim of the party is also the aim of our Army. The task of the party is also the task of our Army.

The purpose of the party is also the purpose of our Army. The mass line of our party's work is also the line of our Army's work. It is precisely under the leadership of the party that our Army can develop and grow, and establish itself in an unassailable position. Such party leadership has also enabled our Army to give up the narrow-minded consciousness of peasants, arm itself with a completely new Marxist world outlook and methodology, and succeed in avoiding the tragedy which numerous armed struggles of peasants in history could not avoid, and overcome trends of warlordism and the roving rebel ideology, so that our Army can become a new people's army that serves the people wholeheartedly. Without party leadership, there would be no today for our Army. Marshal Nie Rongzhen once used the example of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom to explain this issue. There were many outstanding qualified personnel in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom like Li Xiucheng, Shi Dakai, and others. However, due to the evil influence of peasants' consciousness, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom eventually suffered defeat. Shi Dakai, Prince Wing, led a long march. After scores of years, the Red Army also carried out a Long March, following the same route of Shi. At that time, some people thought that the fate of the Red Army would be the same as Shi Dakai. However, the Red Army accomplished its Long March. Although the long march was the same, it was carried out by different armies. It was first carried out by an army led solely by peasants. The second Long March was carried out by the Chinese Red Army which was led by the proletarian political party and guided by Marxist-Leninist military strategy and tactics. The results were completely different. Therefore, in semicolonial and semifeudal China, the revolutionary movement based on the broad masses of peasants can succeed only when it is led by the political party armed with Marxism-Leninism. Today, there is no doubt that the party leadership and the political work of the party in the Army are still a political base linked with the strong rallying power and combat effectiveness of our Army, and are still an essential guarantee for the prosperity and development of our Army.

Our Army is a banner of the party. In many respects, the masses understand our party through the People's Army. During the years of war, our Army shouldered the three major tasks of being "a fighting force, a political work force, and a production corps." Apart from fighting the war to eliminate the enemy's military power, the Army also directly carried out its major political tasks of spreading propaganda among the masses, arming the masses, helping the masses establish local political power, and even setting up local party organizations. The people's political power was established in places where the Army had arrived. The influence of the party was brought to places where mass work was carried out. In this process, the masses comprehended and understood the Army and followed the party wholeheartedly. In our Army the party has developed a fine tradition and style of political work and the noted spirit of Jinggang Mountains, the spirit of the Long March, the spirit of Yanan,

and the spirit of Lei Feng. It is not only a source of strength for the development and growth of our Army, but also valuable spiritual wealth for the entire party and the entire nation. During the period of socialist construction, in the course of participating in the construction of the motherland, or on the critical moment of counterattack in self-defense, dealing with emergency, providing disaster relief, quelling counterrevolutionary rebellion, our Army has accomplished the tasks assigned by the party in an exemplary way. This has enabled the people to deepen their understanding of the party's line, guiding principle, policy, and purpose, so that they love and esteem the party and the Army more ardently.

4. The party's absolute leadership over the Army is an urgent need of the practical environment and struggle. An important characteristic of the present international major climate is that monopoly bourgeoisie of the West makes use of the temporary difficulties of socialist countries and the opportunity of their implementation of the policy of reform and opening up, to try to turn socialist countries into bourgeois republics and the appendages of Western powers. Under such a complicated domestic and international situation, our Army plays a decisive role in ensuring a lengthy and peaceful reign in our country. In the past we said maintain an army for a thousand days to use it for an hour. Now we say maintain an army for a thousand days to use it for a thousand days. The existence of a powerful army is a great deterrent force. At the critical juncture, the army can play a mainstay role. It is precisely because of the important role of our Army in consolidating our state power and stabilizing the situation that hostile forces both at home and abroad have regarded our Army as the greatest stumbling block to their activities of carrying out subversion and stirring up turmoil. They are trying in every possible way to deal with our Army to change its nature and to snatch leadership of the Army. All this has fully shown that our Army is facing a very complicated environment and shouldering a strenuous task. Only by upholding the party's absolute leadership over the Army and fully improving its quality can our Army carry out its functions and duties and be worthy of the trust of the party and the people.

To guarantee the party's absolute leadership over the Army, party committees at all levels must shoulder the following great responsibilities:

—The party committees, as a central link in the organization system of the Army, must ensure the leadership and command of the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission for our Army. All work of the party committees must be subordinated to and serve the party's program, line, guiding principle and policy in order to ensure that troops under them will fully keep in line with the central authorities ideologically, politically, and in their actions.

—The party committees as a unified nucleus of leadership and unity of the troops must ensure the firm and correct political orientation and strong rallying power

of the troops. They must exercise staunch collective leadership and carry out a scientific division of work. They are not allowed to assert their independence or scramble for military power. They must give play to the political strong points of the party in the Army, and fully consolidate and enhance combat effectiveness of the troops to maintain the high degree of centralization and unity of the troops.

—The party committees as a leadership organ of grassroots party organizations in the troops must ensure the consolidation of the organization base of the party in the troops. They must persist in the principle of the party administering its organizations and running them strictly. They must vigorously grasp the building of the party, and firmly and unwaveringly follow a series of rules and regulations governing party leadership over the Army, and give play to the role of fighting bastions of the grassroots party organizations and the vanguard and exemplary role of party members to unite the broad masses of officers and men around the party.

## II. We Must Uphold Our Basic System of Party Leadership Over the Army and Strengthen the Nucleus and Leadership Role of Party Committees

Division of work with individual responsibility of senior officers under the unified collective leadership of the party committees is the basic system for party leadership over the Army. Only by observing this basic system can we guarantee the party absolute leadership over the Army.

1. What are the characteristics of division of work with individual responsibility of senior officers under unified collective leadership of the party committees, which is regarded as the basic system governing the party leadership over the Army?

—This system is a generalization and summation of the long-term practice and experience of the party in leading the Army. Shortly after the founding of our Army, the party established its organizations in the Army. During the period of Jinggang Mountains, the 4th Front Army of the Red Army set up party groups in squads and platoons, party branches in companies, party committees in regiments, and the party Military Committee in the Army. The party Military Committee was later called the "party Frontline Committee." At that time, the embryonic form of the party committee system in our Army was already established. Due to the influence of Wang Ming's "leftist" opportunist line, the party committees at all levels in the Red Army were once abolished. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, military affairs committees were set up in units above regimental levels to exercise unified leadership over the military and political work. The 7th CPC National Congress, held in 1945, decided to restore party committees at all level in the Army. The decision on "perfecting the party committee system" made by the

CPC Central Committee in 1948 played a great promoting role in perfecting the party committee system in the Army. During the initial postliberation period, the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission conscientiously summed up basic experiences of party leadership over the Army to closely integrate the party collective leadership with division of work with individual responsibility of senior officers, so that the system of the party leadership over the Army became more and more perfect. The "Regulations for Political Work of the People's Liberation Army" promulgated by the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission in 1954 officially affirmed that the system of division of work with individual responsibility of senior officers under the unified collective leadership of the party committees is the basic system of party leadership over the Army.

—The system of division of work with individual responsibility of senior officers under the unified collective leadership of the party committees has provided a basic norm for party leadership over the Army in the following three aspects. a) The unified leadership of the party committees refers to the scope of functions and powers of the leadership of the party committees. The party committees must exercise unified leadership over all their subordinate organizations, departments, personnel, and work. All important issues of the troops must be first discussed by the party committee, except that under critical condition senior officers can adopt special measure to deal with them as the occasion requires. b) The collective leadership of the party committees. This is the highest principle of the leadership of party committees. The decision of the party committees must be made in accordance with the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority. The practice of a certain individual or of a handful of persons making arbitrary decisions and taking peremptory actions is not allowed. c) Division of work with individual responsibility of senior officers. This is the principle for the implementation of the policy decisions of the party committees. As far as policy decisions of the party committees are concerned, those connected with military work are implemented by senior officers responsible for military work, whereas those connected with political work are implemented by senior cadres responsible for political work. Those senior officers are responsible for the party committees, whereas their associates are responsible for them. In such a way the entire troops can operate in a coordinate and unified way.

—This system bears the characteristics of our Army's scientific leadership and command operations. The party's absolute leadership over the Army is exercised by party committees at all levels in the Army. However, due to particularity of the Army itself, concentrated and unified command of the senior officers must be fully ensured. In the practice of leading the Army, our party has integrated democratic centralism

with the characteristics of the Army to solve in a creative way the contradiction between collective leadership and individual responsibility. Such a leadership and command system can fully carry forward democracy and pool the wisdom of all people, and give play to the role of senior officers to ensure the highly concentrated and unified command of the Army.

We should realize that the system of division of work with individual responsibility of senior cadres under unified and collective leadership of the party committees conforms to the demand and orientation of modernization. Although the leadership systems of armies in various countries have their own different names, generally speaking they fall into two categories: First, a committee system characterized by collective authority; second, a senior officer responsibility system characterized by individual authority. These two kinds of leadership systems have their own merits and demerits. The so-called reform in leadership or management system is, essentially, no more than seeking the unity of democracy and efficiency. Therefore, there has now been a trend of mixing or integrating the excessively scattered committee system with the overconcentrated responsibility system of senior officers. We encountered this problem several decades ago when we began to implement the system of division of work with individual responsibility of senior cadres under the unified leadership of the party committees. We must not think that everything foreign is good. Regarding our traditional things, we must uphold those that conform to objective demands of modernization and constantly improve them in the course of upholding them. Marshal Peng Dehuai expounded this issue as early as 30 years ago. He said that upholding in the Army the leadership and working system characterized by the collective leadership of the party committees and division of work with individual responsibility of senior officers is indispensable in order to ensure the party leadership over the Army. The experience of our Army has proved that this system is suitable not only for the initial stage of development of our troops, but also for the higher stage of development. The higher degree of modernization in our Army means that its organization is more complicated and that its collective leadership and division of work with individual responsibility is more important. In the course of implementation, we must lay equal emphasis on collective leadership and division of work with individual responsibility. The party committees must neither take on special work which is handled by senior officers within their functions and powers nor neglect the principle of making collective decisions on important matters. If they can do so, the concentrated and unified command of our troops will not be affected. This will help military cadres and political cadres learn from each other, and will help train military cadres who are both red and expert and who know both politics and military affairs. The practice of modernization of our troops has proved that the judgment of Commander Peng was completely correct.

—This system plays a dominant and decisive role in a series of matters related to the party's leadership over the Army. Party leadership over the Army is governed by a series of specific rules and regulations that are the extension or enlargement of this fundamental system and that are determined or constrained by it. Without this fundamental system we have no way of doing anything and it will be difficult to truly realize party leadership over the Army.

2. To implement the system of division of work with individual responsibility of senior officers under the unified and collective leadership of the party committees, we must truly strengthen the nucleus leadership role of the party committees. The party absolute leadership over the Army is realized through the leadership of the party committees. Fundamentally speaking, the unified leadership of the party committees over the Army is realized through powerful political, ideological and organizational leadership. Only by grasping these "three kinds of leadership" can we realize the unified leadership of the party committees.

Political leadership means that the party committees must firmly and unswervingly lead the troops to resolutely implement the party's line, guiding principles and policies, and the Central Military Commission's instructions and policy decisions, so that they can stick to a correct orientation for developing and administering the Army. Marshal Chen Yi told us, "The party's political leadership over the Army determines our strategic guiding principles, the direction of our development, and various strategies." Specifically, political leadership means mainly leadership in terms of line, orientation, guiding principle, policies, basic principle, and systems. It also means leadership in terms of the general aims and overall arrangements of the units concerned, guiding thinking for specific tasks, and important policies. All these are the basic content of the political leadership of the party committees.

Ideological leadership means that we must vigorously strengthen ideological and political work; that we must persist in using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the basic aim, fine tradition and work style of our Army to educate and arm our troops; and that we must always maintain the spiritual pillar of our powerful troops. At present, we must pay special attention to grasping theoretical study, carrying out education in upholding the four cardinal principles, and opposing bourgeois liberalization. Furthermore, we must do well in carrying out education in patriotism, revolutionary heroism, hard struggle, and sense of organization and discipline, and we must increase the ideological and political consciousness of the broad masses of officers and soldiers to fully ensure the stability of our troops.

Organizational leadership means that we must give full play to the core leadership role of party committees at all levels through promoting the building of the party organizations, and that we must give full play to the role of fighting bastions of party branches and the vanguard and

exemplary role of the broad masses of party members. In the meantime, we must strengthen the party's work of administering its cadres, so that each cadre is placed in his organization, governed by the system, and works under supervision.

### III. We Must Implement the Principle of Democratic Centralism To Enhance the Collective Leadership Level of Party Committees

Democratic centralism is a basic organization principle of the party, and a basic principle that must be observed in order to ensure the party's absolute leadership over the Army. It is appropriate to say that strengthening democratic centralism and attaching importance to the building of the party in terms of system is a major characteristic of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thinking on the building of the ruling party. As early as in 1962, when the ruling party was facing a new test, Comrade Deng Xiaoping sharply pointed out, "Democratic centralism is the most basic system of the party and state." He added, "If we fail to follow democratic centralism effectively, the party, state, socialism, and cadres can go bad. Individuals can also go bad." We must increase our consciousness and firmness in implementing democratic centralism from such a high plane of principle.

How we implement our democratic centralism will play a decisive role in exercising and promoting collective leadership of the party committees. As far as policy decisions are concerned, democratic centralism is a basic channel for developing collective wisdom and making our policy decisions more scientific and democratic. As to its implementation, it is a basic process for correcting mistakes and redressing errors. Reviewing the practice of building party committees in recent years, we realize that the key to our success in implementing democratic centralism and enhancing the collective leadership level of the party committees lies in the following four aspects:

1. We should develop a concept of democracy. The history of struggle of our party is a history in which the party leads the people to strive for political democracy and economic development. During the period of democratic revolution the party led the proletariat and the masses to shout the slogan "let all undemocratic systems die," and hundreds of thousands of martyrs died for their cause. However, people who are engaged in bourgeois liberalization make use of the ignorance of some people about democracy, flaunt the "banner of striving for democracy" to actually attempt to overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party. We can never tolerate this. We Communists must hold high the democratic banner of Marxism with perfect assurance. As members of the party committees, middle-ranking and senior cadres must solidly acquire the communist concept of scientific democracy, increase their consciousness in implementing democratic centralism, and further understand that strengthening collective leadership is the highest principle of party leadership. Over a long period of time in the past, some of our comrades vacillated with regard to relations between democracy and centralism,

and failed to grasp the main points. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made a brilliant exposition on relations between democracy and centralism. He said, "We must stress strengthening centralism and unity, and oppose decentralism. It is more important for us to uphold the principle of democratic centralism. We must not wrongly think that since we emphasize centralization and unity, we can discard democracy contained in democratic centralism. To strengthen centralization and unity and oppose decentralism, we must uphold democracy contained in democratic centralism. With such democracy, there is a basis for centralization, and we can truly promote centralization and unity." He added, "Without a high degree of democracy as basis, centralization can only be a false one. Our Army attaches great importance to a high degree of centralization and unity. Does this mean that there is no need for our Army to develop democracy and enhance democratization of its policy decisions? Comrade Mao Zedong answered this question definitely a long time ago. He said that democracy must be extensively developed in the Army. Promoting democracy can only benefit, not harm, the Army. If a certain military unit failed to carry forward democracy, it could not fight effectively. It could only become a beancurd fist, rather than an iron fist."

Marshal Xu Xiangqian pointed out, "Many of our comrades set their eyes only on the centralized, individual responsibility of senior officers and relations between higher and lower levels in the Army. Therefore, they restrict democracy and wrongly think that promoting democracy can only sap the morale of the Army. Is that right? The answer is no. We must know that the high degree of centralization in the Army is based on the high degree of democracy. Without a high degree of democracy, it is impossible to have a high degree of centralization. They are inseparable, because they are the two sides of a thing." These expositions of our proletarian revolutionaries have thoroughly explained relations between democracy and centralism inside the party. It is still of important guiding significance to us. Members of party committees at all levels must study again and master well the important thinking on the founding of our party and the administration of our Army. In particular, secretaries of party committees must enhance their democratic accomplishment. They must always remember that as party secretaries they do not enjoy any special rights within the party, and they have their own special duties and responsibilities. Party secretaries must listen to "five kinds of words"—good words, bad words, positive words, negative words, and words which oppose themselves. They must not follow the practice of "what I say counts."

2. We must persist in the party congress system. One of the basic requirements of the party's democratic centralism is that party congresses at all levels must be convened regularly and that efforts must be made to give play to their role. In recent years, some units regard convening of party congresses as an added burden under

the pretext of busy work, heavy tasks, and insufficient manpower. All these understandings and practices are wrong. In those years, the 4th Front Army of the Red Army led by Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Zhu could persist in the party congress and democratic election system despite harsh conditions of struggle in the Jinggang Mountains. Today, why can we not implement the basic system of democratic centralism? The process of preparing and convening a party congress and implementing its spirit is actually a process of scientifically assessing the objectives and important policy decisions of the relevant units. It is a process of arousing the enthusiasm and creativity of party organizations at all levels and the broad masses of party members. It is a process of examining cadres and strengthening supervision inside the party. It is also a process of practicing education in democracy inside the party. Conscientious implementation of the system will enable the party committees to improve their work style, enhance their leadership level, and strengthen their sense of responsibility and rallying power.

—Perfecting and implementing the system will help party committees give play to their role in making policy decisions collectively. We must correctly handle relations between standing committees and general committees. Standing committees must report their work to general committees regularly and consciously accept the leadership and supervision of their general committees. They must be responsible for their general committees. In accordance with the relevant rules and regulations, general committees must hold their plenary meetings regularly to discharge their basic functions of making collective policy decisions, and exercising collective leadership to truly change the abnormal situation that "standing committees make work arrangements, whereas general committees accept the assignment of tasks."

—We must further improve the collective leadership system of standing committees to gradually regularize the rules and regulations governing discussions, decisionmaking, and voting of standing committees. Regarding the collective leadership system of standing committees, the principle of democratic centralism must be pursued to correctly handle relations between individuals and organizations, between the minority and majority, between secretaries and members of the committees, and between discussions of people with different views and maintaining unified action. The most fundamental thing is that collective policy decisions must be made in accordance with the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority. Before a policy decision is made, the practice of one person alone having the say must be avoided. After the policy decision is made, actions deviating from the decision must be avoided.

—We must strictly implement a democratic life system for party committees. Comrade Deng Xiaoping says that an important supervision over leaders comes from the party committees themselves. In a party

committee, a certain time must be spent on having heart-to-heart talks to truly promote a general practice of criticism and self-criticism. If people of the same level who work together may hold heart-to-heart talks, this kind of supervisory system can work better. Practice has proved that if we persist in this system for a long time, it will be greatly beneficial to solving contradictions inside the party, strengthening the unity of party committees, and enhancing their collective leadership level.

3. We must maintain the unity of our party organization. The party is a fighting organization. Without centralization and unity, it will accomplish nothing. Carrying forward intraparty democracy does not mean weakening centralization of the party. On the contrary, it provides a powerful, solid basis for party centralization. There is a famous saying of Lenin: "Discussions, freedom of criticism, and unified action are the democratic centralism of the party." To maintain organizational unity of the party, the key lies in the three links of "treating the higher authorities," "treating oneself," and "treating the lower levels." "Treating the higher authorities" means that we must stay in line with the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission and implement collective policy decisions of the party organizations of the higher authorities without preconditions. "Treating oneself" means that party committees must maintain their own unity, study important issues collectively, and make decision collectively on important actions. After decisions are made, unified actions must be taken. "Treating the lower level" means that the party committees must firmly and unswervingly rely on party organizations at all levels to do their work well. Only thus can policy decisions of the party committees be turned into the actions of the troops, and the nucleus leadership role of the party committees be truly reflected.

4. We must enforce our iron discipline. The implementation of any system is inseparable from the forceful guarantee of discipline. Our party discipline is based on a high level of democracy and consciousness. In the meantime, it is a strict and iron discipline. "Individuals are subordinate to the organizations, the minority to the majority, organizations at the lower level to the organizations at the higher level, and the entire party is subordinate to the central authorities." This is the organizational discipline stipulated by the party constitution. Party organizations at any level that intend to correctly implement democratic centralism, turn themselves into staunch collective leadership, and enhance their own rallying power and combat effectiveness must continuously heighten their sense of discipline. In particular, members of the party committees and leading cadres of the party must increase their understanding and steeling with regard to the sense of organization and discipline. In 1864, Marx pointed out that there are no rights without duties, or duties without rights. We must bear in mind this famous saying that reflects the essence of

democratic centralism. As a member of a party committee, a person has his rights to participate in important policy decisions, to express his views, and to have reservations. In the meantime, he must carry out his duties to implement collective policy decisions, maintain collective authority, and observe discipline. Only thus can he execute orders, enforce prohibitions, and maintain collective leadership and collective authority.

#### IV. Follow the Mass Line and Adopt Scientific Methods for Party Leadership

To uphold the party's absolute leadership leadership over the Army, we must unswervingly following the mass line of the party. Our Army has always been a model executor of the mass line of the party and established profound relations with the people, as close as fish and water. It is supported, loved, and assisted by the people. Comrade Chen Yi made the following comments on the famous Huai-Hai Campaign: "The Huai-Hai Campaign was inseparable from the hardcarts, millet, and stretchers of the people in the old liberated areas." Many of our veteran comrades have profoundly realized and remembered this. Although our status, environment, and tasks have changed, the nature of our party and Army must not change, our flesh-and-blood ties to the masses must not be cut off, and our fine tradition of the mass line must not be abandoned.

Since becoming a ruling party, our party has faced a greater danger of being divorced from the masses. The harmfulness to the people of our party's separation from the masses might be greater than the past. Therefore, it is of special significance to propagate in the whole party the importance of implementing the mass line. The senior and midlevel leading cadres of the party must persist in the mass line and make new progress in improving their leadership work style, so that the party's fine tradition of the mass line can take root among all cadres, young cadres in particular, and be handed down from generation to generation.

The mass line is also the lifeline of the work of the party committees. First of all, it is a solid foundation for the collective leadership of party committees. Essentially, democratic centralism means the application of the mass line of party work in the life of the party. If the party collective leadership is divorced from the mass line, the extensive practice of the masses, and the collective wisdom of the party, it will be like water without a source or a tree without roots. Furthermore, the mass line is a basic form for discharging the leadership functions of the party committees. The party committees must rely on the masses to accomplish their task, to accumulate their experiences, and to overcome difficulties. Without the mass line, the leadership nucleus of the party committees will be like an "armchair commander." A correct leadership must listen to the voice of the masses, represent their interests, and pool their wisdom. Practice has proved that when the mass line is vividly implemented, the leading bodies will enjoy popular support and their good images can naturally be developed.

Under the new historical conditions, how should we persist in and develop the mass line in party work?

1. We must thoroughly enhance our ideological understanding.

We must restore the tradition of establishing ties to the masses. In recent years, the party's fine tradition of the mass line was harmed by bourgeois liberalization. Many things were distorted, or turned upside down. The basic Marxist viewpoint—"the people create history"—has been challenged, and some people in society vilify the mass viewpoints that our party has always maintained as a feudal "idea of obedient subjects." Some people vigorously preach "elite politics" or propagate the so-called "new authoritarianism." Under the pretext of learning from the management science of the West, some people negate the scientific method of the mass line developed over a long time by our party. Under the new situation of reform and opening up, some of our comrades are not clear on whether we should persist in our party's old tradition of forming close ties to the masses. They are not clear whether the party's basic method of the mass line still works. The mass viewpoints have become blunt in the minds of some of our comrades and their ties to the masses have obviously been weakened. The prestige of some leading bodies is not high among the masses and their images are not good. This has weakened the appeal and rallying power of the party among the masses. This situation must be completely changed.

We must foster the viewpoint of working for the masses, relying on the masses, being responsible for the masses, and learning from the masses. History is created by the people, and the masses are the true heroes. We must never forget this. Our country's ancient book on the art of war, *Liutao*, said, "With public vision, we can see everything in the world. With public ears, we can hear everything in the world. With the public in our hearts, we know what's happening in the world." This means that, if we mobilize the masses, we can see things very clearly. If we mobilize the masses to pool opinions, we can hear everything. If we mobilize the masses to consider problems, we can fully comprehend the principles. When our ancient people used military forces, they knew the above-mentioned principles. When we, the Communists, establish and use our troops, there is no ground for us to fail to do so.

We must adopt a scientific method to uphold the mass line. The mass line applied in party work is the unification between the Marxist theory of knowledge and methodology. It is a science and art of leadership uniquely created by our party for Marxist political parties. It is of profound theoretical value and great practical significance. We must note the new development and changes in certain management sciences and decisionmaking technologies of the West. But we must on no account attend to trifles to the neglect of essentials nor underestimate our capabilities. After our party became a ruling party, we took a lesson from the question of the implementation of the mass line. As early as 1962, Comrade

Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "In recent years, we have launched many mass movements and almost regarded mass movement as the only form of the mass line. It is not good to launch a mass movement every day. We must carry out our regular work." Stressing upholding the party's mass line under the new historical conditions does not mean that we should repeat previous detours. The mass line must not be confused with mass movements. We must inherit and carry forward the scientific and basic methods of the mass line. Only thus will the party's fine tradition of the mass line be full of vitality and vigor in the new practice.

2. We must fully implement the mass line in our leadership work.

The mass line as a fundamental work line of the party must be implemented throughout the course of work of party committees. The chapter called "Three Strategies" in the *Seven Books of Combat Arts* points out that The key to administering the state and the Army lies in understanding the thinking of the public and adopting various measures to deal with it. This means that the principle of running the country and the Army is that we must examine the thinking of the masses and be good at taking different kinds of measures to handle the problem. The key to ensuring that policy decisions and confidence in the party committees are responded to enthusiastically lies in our success in "examining the thinking of the public and adopting various different measures to deal with it." Before making any policy decision, we must profoundly carry out investigations and studies, understand the opinions of the masses, and listen to their voices. We must take the feelings of the masses as the first sign for policy decisions. Just as Comrade Chen Yun has stated, we must spend 90 percent of our time on carrying out investigations and studies, and 10 percent on making policy decisions. In the course of making policy decisions, the party committees must play the role of "processing factories." Through analysis, comparison, screening, and summation, we can make policy decisions that truly represent the interests of the masses and reflect their wisdom. After a policy decision is made, we must give play to the role of the mass line in two aspects. First, through spreading propaganda among the masses and organizing them, we must turn the policy decisions of the party committees into the actions of the masses. Second, we should test the policy decision in the practice of the masses. The key to maintaining the correct leadership of the party committees lies in whether the party committees can systematically concentrate the experiences and opinions of the masses based on analysis and summation and turn them into the propositions of the party committees. Through spreading propaganda among the masses and organizing them, these propositions must be turned into the ideas and actions of the masses. The propositions of the party committees must be tested, supplemented, and corrected in the actions of the masses. The responsibility of the party committees is that they must be good at enhancing the understanding

of themselves and the masses in the endless process of "from the masses, to the masses" to continuously promote the work of the units concerned.

### 3. We should grasp the crux in actual application of the mass line.

In the course of implementing the mass line, party committees will very often encounter many complicated contradictions. The biggest problem is how to handle the relationship between being responsible to the masses and being responsible to the leadership organs. In particular, in the present process of reform and opening up, there is a friction between the old and new systems, readjustment of relations of interests, and mingling of various kinds of contradictions. This has made the integration between "being responsible to the higher authorities" and "being responsible to the lower levels" more difficult. If our work in this regard is not done well, we will either run counter to the spirit of the higher authorities, or fail to protect personal interests of the masses. In recent years, many of our leading bodies have been in a dilemma of "these two difficult options." To solve this problem well, we must fully integrate principle and flexibility. While handling such relations, we must avoid both the tendencies of "commandism" and "tailism."

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that "commandism is wrong in any type of work, because, in overstepping the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of voluntary mass action, it reflects the disease of impetuosity." He added, "Tailism in any type of work is also wrong, because in falling below the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of leading the masses forward, it reflects the disease of dilatoriness." We should say that these two tendencies have been reflected in the leadership work of some party committees. While making policy decisions some party committees wrongly estimate the acceptance of the masses or fail to carry out propaganda and explanatory work. This gives rise to commandism. Some leaders make endless concessions to pander to the backward ideas of some persons. This gives rise to tailism, or selfish departmentalism, or small-group mentality. All this violates the scientific spirit of the party's mass line and sets the practice of "being responsible to the higher authorities" against that of "being responsible to the lower level." Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that "the opinions of the masses are not necessarily correct or mature. So-called summation and collection do not mean a simple piling up of opinions. Here, arrangements, analysis, criticism, and summation are needed." Comrade Liu Shaoqi also said, "Only by being responsible to the masses can we say that we have done our best and made the greatest efforts. We must understand the unity between the interests of the party and the masses. We must understand the unity of being responsible to the party and to the masses. They must be integrated, rather than being split. They must not be set against one another. If we find that the tasks assigned by our leading organs or leaders or their policies and work style are improper or wrong, we

must urge them to correct them out of the spirit of being responsible for the people. We must thrash out the rights and wrongs, and must never do our work in a slapdash manner. Otherwise, this means that we fail to be responsible for the people and the party." All these brilliant expositions of our revolutionaries of the older generation are worth our careful study and comprehension. This will be beneficial to enhancing the leadership level and working capability of our party committees.

### Roving Thoughts on a Tour of the Rural Areas in Anhui

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[Text] Recently we accompanied Comrade Song Ping on an investigation tour of farming villages in the cities of Liuan, Fuyang, Bangfu, Cuxian, and Hefei in Anhui Province. We looked up relevant documents after our return. The following is our preliminary thinking on the development of agricultural production and further reform of farming villages:

#### A. With the Requirement of Public Ownership of Land, Stabilization and Perfection of the System of Joint Family Production and Contracting Remains the Primary Element in Further Reform in Farming Villages

Tremendous changes have taken place in agriculture and the economy in rural areas during the 10 years of our country's agricultural reform. These changes were inseparable from the system of sharing responsibilities for joint household production and contracting. Anhui was the first province to practice this system. Its total grain yield recorded an average two-percent increase per year in the 30 years before 1978, while the figure rose to five percent during the past 10 years. Particularly in the Cuxian area, where the peasants did not have enough to eat before, grain production registered an average of 10 percent in the last 10 years, providing the country with more than 10 billion kilograms of marketable grain and producing four billion kilograms more than the combined amount during the 26 years before 1978. Its rate of commodity increase reached 52 percent. There has also been marked improvement in rural enterprises and multiple management in Cuxian, with the peasants' per capita income rising to 530 yuan in 1988 from 107 yuan in 1978.

But since 1984, our country's grain production has taken a plunge every year. Other major agricultural products also witnessed a slump in output. There have been other problems, too: Areas good for cultivation became smaller, irrigation works needed to be repaired, agricultural machinery was outdated, and the development of agricultural industry was too slow. These problems demonstrated that our country lacks effective follow-up policies on agricultural development.

To resolve these problems, and to give new life to agriculture, calls have been made for detailed research on the national economy and efforts to define the relationship between agriculture and industry, so that appropriate measures can be adopted to improve the conditions for agricultural production. But we must never place our hopes entirely on the external factors of agriculture. Emphasis should be put from within the rural areas. Proper adjustments and distributions of agricultural resources, such as the labor force, land, and capital funds, as well as introducing scientific technological equipment to agriculture and reforming the economic structures in rural areas, will help develop agricultural production.

The system of shared responsibility for joint household production and contracting is still the key to further reform in rural areas. During our recent trip to Anhui, we met with many a cadre who maintained that this system is beneficial to the development of rural productivity and should be kept as a fundamental policy toward the stabilization of rural areas. However, this system should be reviewed constantly in accordance with the economic development capability in each area. The following is what Anhui Province has done:

#### **1. Strengthen the Concept of Public Sharing of Land and Further Clarify the Responsibilities, Rights, and Privileges of the Two Contracting Parties**

The present system of dual-level management, which differs from the system of unified, centralized management during the period of people's communes, marks a reform in the organizational format of productive labor under the collective economy in socialist agriculture. Therefore, all businesses are conducted on the basis of public sharing of basic agricultural resources, such as land, whether the businesses are managed by individual families through contracts or by other means. This should be easy to understand, but in some cases, as a result of unclear definitions on ownership and management rights, many people did not know that the land belongs to the public. Consequently, private household contractors thought they owned the land allotted to them and did not fulfill their obligations to surrender part of their crops to the state. This has reduced "collective management" to existing only in name. In addition, there have been problems in allotting land in many places because the residents moved frequently.

Guzhen County has adopted the following measures to deal with these problems: Contracts were signed between the village councils and the peasants that clearly defined the ceilings on the peasants' purchasing orders, the amount of money they should hand in, the amount of voluntary labor they should provide each year, and the target of their planned births. The peasants were given the right to manage their allotted land if they honored the terms of the contracts, and the village councils could take back the land if violations occurred. The contracts also determined the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of the village councils. Furthermore, each village also

provided one-tenth of its land for bidding by its peasants, with every mu going for 100 to 170 yuan per year as contracting fees, in an effort to increase the village's ability to manage its collective economy. Contractors in this category were mainly those who performed better than others in plowing the field. Huaiyuan County, in the meantime, practiced the "three-cropland system," under which everyone was entitled to a piece of land to grow his own grain, an average of two mu of fields were tilled by each person as a duty to the state, and the village offered 2.5 percent of its land for public bidding. Those who failed to pay for their share of the purchasing orders or to provide voluntary labor would have their land confiscated. Twenty to 30 mu of land was opened as a unit for bidding, and the contracting fees went into a fund to develop agriculture.

The above measures, which won the support of a majority of the peasants, have produced certain effects. 1) They further underlined the collective-ownership, private-management nature of land and clearly spelled out the responsibilities, rights, and privileges of the two contracting parties, which strengthened the peasants' sense of responsibility to the nation. 2) They increased collective accumulation, which contributed to helping the peasants solve their problems and increase agricultural investment, as well as enabled leading cadres to smoothly take care of such problems as "pressing for grain and money" without hurting the relationship between the cadres and the masses. 3) They allowed cultivated land to be utilized properly and helped quicken the pace of adjusting the industrial infrastructure in rural areas. But in places where the average size of cultivated land per person is smaller, it is difficult to allot land for different purposes. Also, no actions can be taken to allot a certain piece of land for which a contract is still in effect. Therefore, what should be done at the moment is to strengthen the concept of collective ownership of land, perfect the terms of contracts, and clearly define the responsibilities and rights of the peasants and society.

#### **2. Set Up Good Groundwork for Social Services, Increase the Strength of the Collective Economy, Particularly in the Villages, and Improve the Dual-Level Management System**

The system of shared responsibility for joint household production and contracting was designed to correct previous errors in the management of the collective economy in rural areas. It was not to reject the collective economy altogether, but was to establish a dual-level management system in hopes of achieving results in economy. Several years ago a number of places faced two problems as they promoted this system. 1) The problem of lacking the ability to provide unified, collective production management. Problems that an ordinary private contractor could not solve were not taken care of by organizers, and supplies and services concerning planting, cultivation, irrigation, and insecticides were not provided for. 2) The strength of the collective

economy was weakened. Collective property was completely divided during earlier troubled times, and no efforts were made later to develop a collective economy. Thus, without the aid of public accumulations, there was no foundation to promote economic cooperation or to develop farmland. The party, unable to help people in distress, saw its credibility dwindle. The peasants had to manage everything by themselves, leaving dual-level management to exist only in name. Unable to obtain the services and supplies stipulated in contracts, the peasants could not improve their production. Consequently, the economies in rural areas could not be developed. Concerned central departments have set up observation posts in 270 villages in 29 provinces and districts, and their reports in 1988 indicated that the local party leadership in 10.4 percent of those villages had no fixed assets, and 20 percent could not provide services to the people.

It is now apparent that establishing good groundwork for social services and increasing the strength of collective economy in the villages are the keys to a perfect dual-level management system in rural areas. Some places have already begun to do this. In Cuxian, for instance, many villages have set up what is called the "six stations, one company" network. The six stations deal with matters relating to agricultural technology, agricultural economy, agricultural machinery, planting, irrigation, and veterinary medicine, while the company provides services relating to supply and marketing. They provide technical assistance to the peasants with whom they signed contracts to help them resolve problems before, during, and after production time. Consequently, they provide a guarantee for the rural areas to promote the use of science and technology, to manage capital funds, to organize the supply and marketing of goods, and to develop industry and agriculture in villages. Combining public funds with the peasants' assets and labor, these places have implemented programs to build roads and improve the supplies of water and electricity. Fonyang County, furthermore, has provided unified services in many aspects, including management of businesses, distribution of crops, supplies of seeds and insecticides, the use of scientific and technological methods, and the supply of electricity and water. This social service network was further upgraded in recent years as agricultural technological organizations became the contractors. Fuyang District, on the other hand, has encouraged the establishment of privately organized service organizations, which did much to help the peasants and their work.

Whether a dual-level management system is effective or not is based on the strength of the collective economy and economic cooperation at the village level. To establish a new collective economy, one cannot readopt outdated economic practices, but must rely on three sources: 1) deposits received from the peasants through contracts; 2) organizations set up to serve the peasants and gradually developed into economic entities; 3) village businesses set up in line with local conditions, or the

establishment of collective forestry centers, orchards, fishery centers, and animal husbandry centers. This type of new collective economy not only does not compete with the people, but also works to serve them, so it will be welcomed by the public and will subsequently help perfect the household contracting system. Of course, a large-scale collective economy must be developed through a gradual process under careful guidance.

When we are developing a collective economy, we should also continue to encourage and protect those people who specialize in certain trades, so that they can adequately utilize natural resources to increase production.

### 3. Implement Appropriate Land Management in Places With Favorable Conditions in a Manner That Complies With the Peasants' Wishes

Having more people than land in rural areas, our country can only offer an average of eight mu of land for each family to work on. That size may become even smaller as population increases. This problem has affected production and lowered interest in agricultural output. The problem is more prominent in more advanced areas, where people are forced to seek concurrent jobs unrelated to agriculture.

To resolve this problem, some areas have begun in recent years to experiment with a new management system, under which four types of farms were set up—individual family farm, joint household farm, specialized farm, and collective farm. The individual family farm broadened the scope of management for every family, while the joint household farm was a form of cooperative management with each participating family, their allocated land deemed as stock, as a share holder. The specialized farm and the collective farm were operated differently from the family farm, but also took on household contracts. It is obvious, therefore, that the new system not only did not reject the household contracting system, but also absorbed its strong points. This could upgrade the household contracting system and the level of collective agricultural economy, as proved by what Shunyi County near Beijing has achieved. This county, which has practiced the system for four years with good results, saw the incomes of its peasants and their total grain yield shoot up. This system no doubt has given new impetus to the household contracting system.

Naturally, to enforce management on an appropriate scale one must take into account the peasants' wishes as well as three basic conditions: 1) more workers are transferred from the field and get steady incomes; 2) the managers have a good knowledge of management and are capable of managing larger lands; 3) the strength of the collective economy is comparatively more powerful and the place where this system is in practice must have advanced social services and agricultural machinery. Larger cities and the coastal areas meet these conditions, but not Anhui, so we can not enforce this system in every village in Anhui.

### B. Improve Agriculture With Science and Technology

Our country is poor in land resources. The average size of cultivated land is small and getting smaller, and there is not much undeveloped land that is good for agriculture. Of the total 1.4 billion mu of cultivated land, about 60 percent of it can only have moderate yields, and the average production of grain and cotton per mu is much smaller than high-yield lands which have similar weather conditions. Relevant information shows that advanced technology has contributed to a 30-percent increase in agricultural growth in the past 30 years, while the figure was 60-80 percent in developed countries. This indicates that our country is still backward in agricultural technology. Therefore, we should rely on the use of science and technology to get ourselves out of the dilemma.

There are many areas where we can use science and technology. Our investigation showed that science and technology could help us achieve tremendous economic results in a short period of time. For instance, in Cuxian, which reported increased output after the use of science and technology, had an increase of 125 million kilograms of grain yield in 1989. We could also acquire technology on planting, the application of fertilizer, and irrigation to induce better results. Furthermore, we could rely on modern science and technology to develop several agricultural products at the same time on a massive scale.

Anhui has gained experience in two areas that can be of use to other provinces:

1. It integrated agriculture with education and science and technology with the aim of promoting agriculture. That is, under the guidance of local party leadership, the province set up educational centers at various levels to train talents and promote science and technology. These centers formed an educational network covering counties, districts, and villages and accomplished the following tasks within three to five years: First, a large number of middle-and-lower rank personnel were groomed to promote various advanced agricultural technologies. Second, one person in every family in over half the villages in the entire province possessed one or two practical skills, and every village had a family with the ability to demonstrate the use of these technologies. In addition, one peasant was chosen to act as village technical assistant. Third, the administrative personnel in over a third of the villages and workers in more than half the villages received training to improve their abilities. This kind of training first started in 1982 in Mengcheng County, which has since trained 140,000 peasants. The provincial government, after acknowledging the success in 1987, has set up more than 100 units to supervise the implementation of such training. Preliminary results are quite encouraging.

2. Groups specializing in agricultural technology were contracted to improve production through the use of science and technology. This provided a new twist in the course of reform. In Fengyang County a system was adopted several years ago to coordinate management,

technical divisions, and sales departments in a program to improve production. Thus, several departments, including agriculture, science and technology, goods and materials, agricultural machinery, and finance, were recruited to form a contracting group that appealed to peasant contractors. Gradually, a new agricultural production structure was established to allow agriculture to be "managed by households, planted by districts, contracted by groups, and serving the society."

We also discovered that more agricultural technical specialists should go to the grassroots units to work. There exist a good number of agricultural specialists, and more than 70,000 students graduate from agricultural colleges or high schools each year. The trouble is, many of them work at the administrative level and some have jobs not related to agriculture. In Jiashan County, for instance, only 20 percent of its agricultural specialists work in the fields. To resolve this problem, we should enforce a regulation under which graduates from agricultural colleges are obligated to work at the grassroots level for at least one or two years. We should also create a package of incentives and favored treatment to lure them to work at the basic level.

### C. The Key to Reform and Development of Villages Lies in Strengthening Party Organizations at the Grassroots Level

The party's grassroots organizations play an important role in implementing the party's programs. Generally, a village with an effective local party organization has a stronger collective economy, even if the village is more backward or has less favorable natural conditions. Xinzong Village in Shitai County in Anhui Province is a poor village located on a rocky mountain 500 meters above sea level. Its local party leadership led the people to fight hardship and turned poverty into riches, making the village a model for all peasants to strive for. But some villages in Changfeng County, on the other hand, could not achieve similarly positive results despite their favorable location along a major highway, their rich natural resources, and their propitious conditions for developing agriculture and economy. Residents of these villages are poor, superstitious, and troubled by feudal practices. The local party leadership enjoys no prestige and has a terrible relationship with the masses. The reason is that the village party units are weak and slack, and many cadres abused their privileges for personal gain. Most cadres care only about their own business or how to enrich themselves, and no one cares to lead the masses to a better life. Of the 20 villages in that area, 18 had zero performance in pushing for a collective economy. The remaining two had somewhat lackluster performances, which were brought forth largely by private businesses. Without economic power, these local party organizations not only could not help the masses but also had to rely on the peasants for their expenses in eating and drinking. The situation, however, became better after things were straightened out in 1988 by higher-level party organizations. This proves that a sound party organization is instrumental in reforming villages, developing village

economies, and consolidating socialism at the village level. Therefore, the following measures are recommended to strengthen grassroots party organizations in villages:

First, we should persist in the policy of "grasping with both hands" as we set out to reform and develop villages.

The reason our party was weakened in the past few years was that some party committees failed to implement thoroughly the guideline of "grasping with both hands," which was designed to strengthen the party through economic development and reform. Building a good economy is the major task of the party, but this task can be achieved only when the party has sound organization and good leadership.

But how do we make sure that leaders at all levels will attach great importance to strengthening the party's grassroots organizations? In the case of Anhui, county committees were charged with the responsibility for this task. The provincial committee in July 1989 issued a document spelling out seven areas of responsibility for county committees. They included calling meetings on a regular basis to discuss the party's construction, reporting regularly on party affairs, review of grassroots organizations' performance, coordination among committee members, and participation of committee leaders in meetings held by junior cadres. The document also proposed that the performance of a county committee be assessed on how well it could organize grassroots units, and that the secretary of a committee be chosen on the criterion of how much attention he has given to party affairs. From a practical point of view, these requirements and regulations should suffice to ensure that county committees give priority to the construction of grassroots organizations.

At the same time, we should lead the masses to achieve shared prosperity while we are developing productivity, and strengthen village party units at the same time.

Party branches at the village level can be credible to the masses only when they are able to lead the people into a prosperous life. Leaders of these branches are now younger and more educated than before. But there are some who are too old and frail, have stayed in the job for too long, are suspected of abusing their privileges for personal gains, or have been accused of violating laws and regulations. These people are unsuitable for their jobs and therefore should be removed. They should be replaced by younger, more cultured people who have good political awareness, are keen to serve the masses, and have the ability to lead the masses to a better life. We should also focus on educating and training cadres. Lai'an County, for instance, has stipulated that village party committee members be sent to party schools for training at least twice a year, and committee secretaries once a year. In addition, reserve cadres who are about to work for a village committee can assume their positions only after they go through training. Some other places

even helped solve the cadres' practical problems, including giving them allowances, to enable them to have greater flexibility.

Judging from the history of development of villages, we can come to the conclusion that if we could cultivate a group of talented people who have high party spirit and political consciousness, and have the ability to develop a product-oriented economy and create a better life for the masses, we would achieve much more than economic gains. Therefore, as we attempt to reorganize village party organizations in the future, we should place greater emphasis on cultivating talented people in the villages.

A further point is that, we must adjust ourselves to changing times and establish a set of sound systems that, with the "system of target responsibility for party members" as the nucleus, combine ideological education with the implementation of the systems.

After the system of sharing responsibilities for joint household production and contracting was introduced, party members at the village level have undergone changes in their mode of operations, with some of them even having to go out of town for business purposes. This calls for new methods of control over party members. In response to this, Anhui has introduced a revised policy which enforced ideological education while new systems were being implemented.

Chief among the systems was one that spelled out the "target responsibility system for party members." Based on obligations that party members had to meet and new demands made on them as a result of changes in villages, this system was designed with the aim of increasing productivity and creating common wealth. It detailed the content of a target each party member had to fulfill every year, and proposed that their performances be assessed by party branches. Different party members received different instructions according to their age, physical condition, and type of work.

Under this system, several programs were designed to temper party members' party character and to create conditions under which members can play pioneering role, as well as to enhance the implementation of the "target responsibility system for party members." These included party members' activity day, "three meetings with one class system," "supervision of out-of-town members," "democratic appraisal of members," a "compete for the best system," and a members' activity center. These measures strengthened the demands put on party members. Now there are goals for tasks, standards for checks, proofs for evaluations. These programs are used as explorations in the reform of the education and management of party members. The direction of these programs is correct. As long as they are implemented fully, continuously improved, and devoid of formalism, they will be effective in educating and guiding party members in villages as well as in the entire party.

**Adhere to and Improve the Contracted Management Responsibility System for Enterprises**

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[Article by Yuan Baohua (5913 1405 5478)]

[Text] As early as 1975 Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out the necessity of establishing a responsibility system. In an article entitled "Opinions on Developing Industry," he stressed, "The key is to establish a responsibility system. In many localities now no one is responsible. As bad old practices die hard, a solution to this problem brooks no delay." At a central work meeting prior to the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978, he once again pointed out that Particular attention should be paid to strengthening the responsibility system and to be strict and fair in meting out rewards and punishments so that everyone on all fronts will strive to join the advanced and to make progress." Facts have proved that taking the establishment and improvement of the responsibility system as the main issue in reform conforms to China's national conditions. This enables us to pay attention to the basic link in enterprise management, to bring into play the initiative of cadres and workers, and to promote the sustained development of the productive forces. It is rich in vitality. Now the rural areas have made great successes in implementing the output-related contracted responsibility system on a household basis, and the urban areas have also achieved good results in carrying out the contracted management responsibility system in enterprises. To produce better results in implementing the spirit of the 5th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee and to resolutely advance along the road of reform blazed by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we should, in the course of rectifying the economic order, unify our understanding and adhere to and improve the contracted management responsibility system for enterprises.

**Implementing the Contracted Management Responsibility System Is a Practical Choice That Conforms to China's National Conditions**

It should be pointed out that the popularization of the contracted management responsibility system in April 1987 was not determined by someone's or some people's subjective will, but was a practical choice made according to current situations. Three factors contributed to the extensive implementation of the contracted responsibility system.

First, after the substitution of profit delivery for tax payments, the problem of "whipping a willing ox" and "unequality in tax burden" remained unsolved. Thus, enterprises could not start from the "same departure line" and their initiative could not be brought into play. In particular, tax burdens increased after the introduction of income'-plus adjustment tax. As a result, large

and medium-sized enterprises under the ownership by the whole lacked vitality and their profit delivery and tax payment rates dropped. Under such circumstances, many provinces and autonomous regions implemented the contracted management responsibility system in enterprises. Thus, they found the method of changing enterprises' operational mechanism and could bring into play the initiative of enterprises and their employees. The state could obtain more revenues and enterprises could retain more profits. The contracted management responsibility was soon popularized throughout the country.

Second, some people were influenced by Western economists at the beginning of economic structural reform. They mistakenly thought that "all-people ownership is inferior to collective ownership" and "collective ownership is inferior to individual ownership." They proposed forming a full market economy in an attempt to change the nature of enterprises from ownership by the whole people into private ownership. The CPC Central Committee promptly conducted criticism of this erroneous trend and suggested adhering to the four cardinal principles and the policy of reform and opening up, thus providing a clear orientation for blazing a reform road in line with China's national conditions and bearing Chinese characteristics. The contracted management responsibility system complies with the four cardinal principles.

Third, the trial implementation of the contracted management responsibility system portrayed its practical feasibility and was well received by leaders and employees. About five to six years of experience had been gained in the trial implementation of the contracted management responsibility before its extensive popularization in industrial enterprises. Experience had been gained in trial implementing this responsibility system in the Beijing Steel Factory, the Nos. 1 and 2 Automobile Factories, the Jiamusi Paper Factory, the Jilin Industrial Chemical Corporation, as well as in Jilin and Guangdong Provinces. In April 1987 the State Council authorized the State Economic Commission to hold a seminar on the contracted management responsibility system. The participants said that after implementation of the responsibility system, enterprises could deliver more revenues to the state and retain more profits as a result of an increase in their income. This was beneficial to the state, enterprises, and their employees. The participants pointed out that the contracted management responsibility system is an effective mechanism to bring employee initiative into play and to tap enterprise potential. A half year later, 80 percent of industrial enterprises under ownership by the whole people started implementing the contracted management responsibility system. What was the impetus? A convincing explanation is that the contracted management responsibility system is a mechanism that has taken shape through practice and that conforms to our national conditions.

In addition, the contracted management responsibility system explicitly defines the relationship of responsibility, rights, and profits between the state and the enterprise and between the proprietor and the operator, thus ensuring a steady increase in state revenues and adding vitality to enterprises. Although some enterprises undertake a short contract period and what they undertake is incomplete if compared with the "contract regulations," the contracted management responsibility system has produced good economic results for them.

1. The social wealth created by enterprises has increased markedly over the period before they implemented the contracted system. The output value of budgetary industrial enterprises increased by 7.5 percent annually from 1978 to 1986 and by 11.1 percent from 1987 to 1988. According statistics announced by the Ministry of Finance, budgetary industrial enterprises realized a profit of 72.62 billion yuan in 1978 and 118.88 billion yuan in 1986, an increase of 46.26 billion yuan at an annual rate of 6.4 percent. In 1988 these enterprises realized profits and tax totaling 161.52 billion yuan, an increase of 42.64 billion yuan over 1986. Thus, it can be seen that the increase rate in the two-year period (1987 and 1988) was almost equal to the seven-year period. In particular the annual profit increase rate of these enterprises was more prominent. It was 46.04 billion yuan in 1978 and 57.15 billion yuan in 1986, an increase of 11.11 billion yuan, an annual rate of 2.73 percent. In 1988 these enterprises realized a profit of 77.9 billion yuan, an increase of 20.75 billion yuan over 1986, an annual rate of 16.8 percent. These increases included the price factor, but still showed a wide margin even after the deduction of the price factor.

2. The contract system has effectively ensured the steady growth of state revenues. According to statistics compiled by the Ministry of Finance, in 1986 the taxes and profits delivered to the state by these enterprises, including income and regulatory taxes, funds for transportation and energy development, and budgetary regulatory funds, increased by 19.76 billion yuan over 1978, an annual increase of 3.1 percent. The increase in 1987 was 7.68 billion yuan over 1986 and the increase in 1988 was 10.62 billion yuan over 1987. Due to a weak market, the increase was only 0.3 percent from January to October 1989, but industrial enterprises still registered a 10-percent increase in revenues delivered to the state. This fully suggests that the contract system can really ensure the steady growth of state revenues.

3. The contract system has added vitality to enterprises. This finds expression in two aspects. One is the mobilization of the initiative of industrial enterprise employees. The contracted operation undertaken by these enterprises for the state provides favorable conditions for the establishment of an economic responsibility system in enterprises. A responsibility system that both encourages and motivates employees. The other aspect is the increase in retention through practicing autonomy over operations. In 1988 profit retention increased by 7.2 billion

yuan over 1986, a record high in enterprises' profit retention for the last 10 years of reform.

#### There Is a Need To Deepen Theoretical Research Into the Contract System

As everyone is aware, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have fully confirmed the role of the contracted management responsibility system in enterprises. The 5th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee explicitly pointed out that the contracted management responsibility system, beneficial to bringing into play the initiative of enterprises and their employees in production, should be continued. In the meantime, it is necessary to sum up experience, to encourage the good and remove the bad, and to continuously improve the system. We should follow the instructions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council and deepen theoretical research into the contract system during its implementation; on the other hand, we should also improve this system in practice.

First, we should understand that the contracted management responsibility system is an operational mechanism that has taken shape in the practice of reform and that conforms to China's national conditions and the development of its productive forces. It is a new form through which the state exercises management over enterprises by legal means. Therefore we should proceed from China's national conditions and its basic system in deepening theoretical research into the contract system. Our national conditions determine the necessity to adhere to the four cardinal principles and the policy of reform and opening up. This issue was profoundly explained by Comrade Jiang Zemin in his National Day speech. How should enterprises under ownership by the whole people preserve the nature of this ownership while allowing the vitality of socialist commodity producers and operators to exist in them and striving to improve their economic results? The key is to implement the principle of "one central task, two basic points" in these enterprises. The emergence, development, and improvement of the contract system suggest enterprises' adherence to public ownership and their opposition to any tendency of privatization. In line with the theory of separation between proprietary and operational rights, the operational and management rights of assets under ownership by the whole people have been delegated to enterprises. This has invigorated these enterprises and enabled them to develop the planned commodity economy. This is the core and essence of enterprise reform in China for the last 10 years. Theoretical research into the contract system should embody this point.

Second, theoretical research into the contracted management responsibility system should proceed in combination with the promotion of the sustained, steady, and coordinated development of the national economy. The 5th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee stressed that the purpose of rectifying the economic order and deepening reform is to bring about the sustained, steady, and coordinated development of the national economy. Theoretical research into the contract system

should be aimed at fully displaying the key role of large and medium-sized enterprises under ownership by the whole people. Large and medium-sized enterprises are the foundation of the national economy and serve as the mainstay of state revenues. Their development corresponds to state industrial policy. The proportion of state revenues to national income has dropped over the last few years, and this, to a large extent, has much to do with the inadequate vitality of enterprises, with the low growth rate in their output value, and with the excessive increase in output value of small enterprises. According to statistics compiled by the State Statistical Bureau, calculated on each 100 yuan of output value (based on fixed prices), in 1987 large enterprises under ownership by the whole people delivered profits and taxes of 23.7 yuan to the state, medium-sized enterprises 16.82 yuan, small enterprises 11.31 yuan, and enterprises not under ownership by the whole people 7 yuan. Therefore, to bring about the sustained, steady, and coordinated development of the national economy, it is necessary to support large and medium-sized enterprises because they can deliver much profit and tax to the state. This is the fundamental method of raising the proportion of state revenues to national income and also an effective measure to develop large and medium-sized enterprises.

Third, whether or not the contract system can display its effective role depends on how the party committee exercises its ideological and political leadership, on how the factory director (manager) assumes his full responsibility, and on how the employees exercise democratic management. These three should be well coordinated. The implementation of the contract system can promote coordination and unification between these three, which in return will facilitate the implementation and improvement of the contract system. There is a need to carry out profound and meticulous research into this problem and to find ways to form an organic combination between these three so that they will promote each other.

#### **Do a Solid Job in Developing and Improving the Contracted Management Responsibility System**

To turn the contracted management responsibility system into a practical system that will invigorate enterprises and alleviate financial difficulties, we should also seriously solve all problems arising in the course of implementing this system. More than 90 percent of industrial and commercial enterprises under ownership by the whole people throughout the country have now implemented the contract system. But experience is still inadequate because this system has been in practice for only two to three years, therefore rules and regulations on the implementation of this system have yet to be improved. Some prominent problems are as follows: The basic figures for contracts are a little low in some enterprises; the increase rate of profit delivery is low; some enterprises retain too much profit while reducing their extra profit delivery to the state; poor-quality small enterprises cannot free themselves from short-term activities; some do not exercise strict control over their consumption funds and let their bonus and welfare funds account for a large percentage; the income of small

enterprises' operators is a little too high, affecting their relationship with staff and workers; and some enterprises overlook their in-house management. But it should be pointed out that these problems are not the result of the contract system; these are problems in work. The following measures should be taken to solve these problems and to improve the contract system.

1. According to the standard contract methods stipulated by the "contract regulations," consideration should be given to the steady increase in state revenues and the development of enterprise stamina. Enterprises can develop themselves according to the state industrial policy, but they must contract for profit delivery and technical transformation and link their total wages with economic results.
2. The basic figure for contracts should be fixed rationally and more contributions should be made to the state. Taking account of the state's financial difficulties, enterprises should rationally fix the basic figure for contracts and make more contributions to the state if they wish to extend the term of contract and/or enter into new contracts. The basic figure for contracts should be fixed rationally according to state industrial policy, in line with the average profit rate of the same trades and undertakings, and by taking into account the relevant enterprise's fulfillment of the previous contract, the completion of its technical transformation task, and the improvement of its economic results. The previous basic figure for contracts should be adjusted if it is too low or if the relevant enterprise has produced good results in technical transformation.
3. Profits retained by enterprises should be used rationally to increase their production development funds and ensure the fulfillment of their technical transformation task. The percentage of production development funds should be fixed according to the different economic results of enterprises, and there should be a rational disparity between production development funds and welfare and bonus funds. For example, the percentage of production development funds should be fixed according to per capita profit retention so as to prevent misappropriation of these funds for other purposes.
4. It is necessary to improve the target assessment system and provide correct guidance for enterprise activities. Contract agreements should comply with the "contract regulations" and embody the assessment of profit delivery, enterprise technological progress, and management of the fulfillment of various targets, including the fulfillment of state mandatory plans and the tasks for technical transformation, controlling product quality and material consumption, and ensuring safety in production. Contract agreements must be strictly put into effect and rewards or punishments must be meted out according to assessment results.
5. It is necessary to improve the system of linking wages to economic results and to control an excessive increase

in consumption funds. Enterprises' different characteristics should be taken into account while determining the basic figure of wages to be linked to economic results. The floating ratio between enterprises' economic results and total wages should be rationally fixed. Enterprises should leave some margin when using the wages derived from improvement in their economic results and should set up a wage reserve system and store up in fat years to make up for lean ones. Enterprises should strictly implement state regulations on wage adjustment tax and bonus tax. Extra pay or bonuses issued to employees should be taxed according to regulations. Enterprise operators will be held responsible for overissue of allowances and subsidies, either in cash or in kind.

6. The income of enterprise operators should be determined according to the relevant "contract agreement." The pay for enterprise operators should be audited properly before being issued. The calculation for income should be based on achievements and contributions, and, generally speaking, their pay should be controlled at the level of two or three times the income of employees. Their pay should be reduced if they cannot fulfill the relevant contract agreement. The income distribution program for operators and leading groups should be submitted to the worker congress for examination and should be approved by the higher authorities concerned. Their income should be announced to the public. Overissue of pay for enterprise operators should be abolished. The portion overpaid should be added to enterprise production development funds or reserve funds.

7. Enterprises should establish a mechanism of assuming responsibility for their losses. Under the contract system, enterprises should assume sole responsibility for losses or profits; when they incur losses they should make up for them so as to ensure their profit delivery to the state. The purpose of this practice is to weaken the operational rights of poorly run enterprises so that they will eventually transfer their operational rights to enterprises with good operational conditions. On the basis of the contract system, enterprises are encouraged to set up separate accounts for their funds according to the "contract regulations." After the separation of their accounts, they should establish fund management organs to retain some of their funds to form risk capital. Enterprises with negative increases in their funds should transfer their operational rights to other enterprises.

#### **Institutes of Higher Learning Must Adhere to a Firm and Correct Political Orientation**

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[Article by Wang Xianguan (3769 0686 1131), Hunan Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] Why did the nationwide political turmoil and Beijing counterrevolutionary riot that broke out at the turn of spring and summer last year begin with the student movement? Why was it that so many students

were involved? These problems merit our sober consideration. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made a penetrating analysis of the root cause of the turmoil, that is, it was determined by the international macroclimate and internal microclimate. The period from when the current college students were still in middle school until they were admitted to colleges was exactly when the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization ran rampant and we ignored ideological and political work. While one party took the offensive, the other "withdrew from a defended position." Under such circumstances, how could young students not be thrown into ideological confusion? The cause for the slackened ideological and political work naturally lay in the serious mistakes in the guiding ideology of one or two leaders of the party Central Committee. The political climate nationwide was abnormal. What was mainly to blame for the problems in the institutes of higher learning? Was the party leadership in colleges less efficient than it had been in the 1950's? Were the numbers of party members, political workers, and Marxism-Leninism teachers smaller? Were the conditions for running schools worse? No. In my opinion, a very important cause is that we ignored the party's fine tradition of ideological and political work and failed to persist in it. At present, the following six points warrant our special attention. As long as we stick to these, and blaze new trail while carrying forward the fine tradition, we can be assured that institutes of higher learning will proceed in the socialist direction.

#### **I. Resolutely Regard Training Young Students Into Workers With Both Socialist Consciousness and Culture as the Basic Task of Colleges**

Which orientation we should preserve in running colleges and what kind of people we should train young students into are fundamental matters for colleges. As early as the revolutionary war years, when our party ran the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, we made a point of attaching primary importance to a firm and correct political orientation and fostering revolutionaries who would strive for the founding of a New China. During the period of socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically, and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture. This is the development of our traditional policy for running the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College under the new situation, is a scientific summary of the fundamental task and features of socialist education, and is also a fundamental criterion by which to judge the quality of every school. Everyone was clear about the policy for, and purpose in running schools in the 1950's. Later, however, quite a number of people became unclear about the policy and the purpose, which should have been a very important matter for them, owing to interferences from the "left" and right. The problems with schools, it can be said, had everything to do with vacillation on this fundamental issue.

Following our educational policy, we must attach primary importance to moral education and cultivating socialist consciousness. Moral education includes ideological and political education, education in moral character, and in code of conduct. It is a matter of course that we should have this job done well. But, in carrying our moral education, we should emphasize ideological and political education, that is, we should help students acquire correct political viewpoints and adhere to the four cardinal principles. Mao Zedong said that a person without correct political viewpoints is no more than a walking corpse. This is an important principle for doing ideological and political work properly.

For a time, there was much discussion about the term "worker." Some people held that the expression was out of date, belittling college students. According to my understanding, "worker" refers to both manual and mental workers. Intellectuals are a part of the working class, and the working class does consist of workers!

The fact that quite a large number of college students lack a feeling for labor and for the thoughts and feelings of laboring people has everything to do with our failure for many years to take a bold and assured stand toward the objective of training young students into workers.

Whether we adhere to and carry forward the tradition of attaching primary importance to a firm and correct political orientation in running schools is the fundamental criterion for judging a school. In the last few years, we passed judgment on a school according to the number of teachers with senior titles and of specialities offering academic degrees and its facilities. Should we not assess these things? The answer is positive. More high-level teachers, more specialities offering academic degrees, and better facilities are good things. Colleges and universities in our province leave much to be desired in these respects, and we should make constant efforts to improve our position. However, we should look at these conditions from all sides rather than one-sidedly. For teachers who hold senior titles, apart from their number, it is all the more necessary for us to take into account their basic stand and attitude toward the principle of adhering to the socialist orientation in running schools. For specialities that offer academic degrees, aside from their level and number, we should see whether they can answer the purpose required of socialist colleges. For conditions for running schools, we should take into account whether those conditions are conducive to training young people into a new generation who are politically sound and professionally competent. In short, institutions of higher learning should always give primary importance to a firm and correct political orientation.

## 2. Insist on Using Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought To Occupy Ideological Fronts in Schools

The task of giving students lessons in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is determined by

the nature of socialist institutes of higher learning, and also our fine tradition in running socialist colleges over the last several decades.

However, over the last few years, courses in Marxist-Leninist theories have been extensively ignored in colleges and universities, which was manifest in three respects: First, some leaders and quite a number of teachers and students underrated the importance of the courses, believing that Marxism-Leninism was no longer "effective," so leadership failed to pay enough attention to the courses, teachers became less confident, and students grew tired of them. It was usually the case that students did not apply themselves to their political studies while attending classes. Second, the content of courses was in a mess. Some colleges gave too many elective courses in social sciences, following the fashion to play down or replace courses in Marxism-Leninism with this "doctrine" or that "theory." Third, some colleges distorted the objective of studying Marxism-Leninism. They failed to tell students to master the fundamental tenets of Marxism and acquire a Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method; instead, they passed on Marxism-Leninism as pure knowledge, regarding the relevant courses as ordinary courses in professional knowledge. Since the courses in Marxism-Leninism were ignored to a great extent, many students were unable to draw clear distinctions on cardinal issues of right and wrong and it was not surprising that they were taken in at a crucial moment. This is a profound lesson.

There were many causes for courses in Marxist theories to be ignored. During the 10-year internal turmoil, Lin Biao and the gang of four seriously damaged the reputation of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought by whipping up an ultra-left ideological trend, and, in recent years, those in favor of bourgeois liberalization approached Marxism-Leninism from their "right" standpoint, attacking and vilifying it, claiming that "Marxism-Leninism is outdated" and marketing the "pluralism of truth." Comrade Zhao Ziyang was especially to blame for it. He ignored ideological and political work, encouraged and helped bourgeois liberalization to run wild so that many young students were poisoned. Lenin said that it is necessary to tell people to learn from their own experience. At present, we should, in light of mistakes committed by some students in the political turmoil and their confused ideas, organize study of some of Marx's and Lenin's works and see to it that the students really understand the content of the books and benefit from them. This will play a positive role in restoring the reputation of Marxist-Leninist theory course. This will also cause the students to gradually develop an affection for the course, and cause students to take the initiative in the study of Marxism-Leninism.

It is necessary to adhere to our tradition of running schools, make the course in Marxist-Leninist theories the most important required course, and regard the practice as the yardstick by which to judge whether the school in question upholds the socialist orientation. It

is necessary to straighten things out in political theories, removing the right as well the left influences, and do a good job in composing teaching materials. We must make it explicitly clear that the objective of the course in Marxist-Leninist theories is to enable students to acquire a proletarian world outlook and methodology and follow a firm and correct political orientation so that they will become qualified personnel for our socialist cause. To prevent the important status of the course from being negated, it is necessary to emphasize the school's party leadership over the teaching and research section in charge of the course in Marxism-Leninism, the principal member of the party committee must concern himself with and give guidance to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Mao Zedong said that the problem of the revolution in education lies mainly with teachers. We should realize that the teaching practice, apart from the reasons mentioned above, must also be held responsible for the situation that the course in Marxist-Leninist theories was ignored and many students displayed apathy toward the study of Marxism-Leninism. For instance, the content of the course failed to interest students because it was dull and dry, the course was unrealistic, and theory was divorced from practice, failing to mirror the characteristics of the times and China's actual conditions. Some teachers in Marxism-Leninism are welcomed. They not only have a large audience, but also achieve good results. The reason is that they succeed in following the party's principles when conducting the course and integrate theory with practice so that the course becomes practical, useful, interesting, and instructive. We should seek enlightenment from their performance. As teachers of Marxist-Leninist theories, they should have a firm conviction in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The masses are in pursuit of truth, the truth will be definitely mastered by them, and the broad masses of young students will necessarily fall in under the banner of Marxism. A loyal Marxist fighter must be confident of this. At the same time, it is necessary to make extensive investigations and studies, collect first-hand information, study the issues in which young students are most interested and the difficulties in conducting the course, constantly improve teaching methods, teach students in line with their requirements, and answer questions raised by the students, the times, and daily life. It is necessary to uphold the party's principle of conducting the course in Marxism-Leninism, a principle that unifies proletarian class character, practicality, and scientific spirit. The essence of Marxism-Leninism is critical and revolutionary by nature. We are not worried that students will come into contact with all sorts of Western ideological trends and schools of thought, or perhaps we should even introduce them to students intentionally to broaden their horizon and to enable them to understand the truth of Marxism-Leninism by making a contrast between the two, namely, Western ideological trends and Marxism-Leninism. However, we must introduce the former in a critical manner, and help the students to tell the true from the

false rather than talk about them without making an analysis and without criticism (this, in fact, is frankly tendentious) changing the platform of socialist colleges into a "free rostrum."

### 3. Make a Point of Regarding Social Practice as an Important Way To Educate Young Students

The recent student movement, turmoil, and riot revealed college students' shortcomings and weak points, which cannot be ignored. They overestimated themselves, did not examine themselves in a practical way, despised practice, and looked down on laboring people.

They did not fully understand our party's and nation's history; they worshipped and had blind faith in things foreign and then developed a sense of inferiority. They did not understand China's actual national conditions, but were keen on showing off, they cut themselves off from the fiery reform and opening up to the outside world, and engaged in so-called "self-design," "self-perfection," and "self-struggle," failing to integrate their growth with the future and destiny of the party and the motherland. These shortcomings and weaknesses, coupled with flattery and incitation by a small number of people who had an ax to grind, made many of them fail to make a sober analysis of major issues of principle and they considered everyone beneath their notice, which inevitably led to erroneous and extreme behavior.

An effective way to help college students to correct their mistakes is to let them take part in social practice, including physical labor, field trips, social investigations, social service, visits, and work which will help them pay off their tuition fee. The purpose is to let them get in touch with society and reality, learn from workers and peasants, have a true understanding of the thoughts and feelings of workers and peasants, learn from their spirit of making achievements through arduous effort, familiarize themselves with China's actual national conditions, understand the party's general and specific policies, foster the ideology of serving the people, and cultivate practical skills to make contributions to the four modernizations.

For young students, plunging into social practice is the only road they must take in training to be qualified personnel. During the initial postliberation period, the colleges and universities set great store by letting students join in social practice, such as preparing the country for nationwide liberation, land reform, the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, and so on. They also sent students to factories and the countryside to do physical labor. At that time, the college students' ideological trend was closely linked to the sentiments of workers and peasants and to the pace at which New China was advancing. College students of the 1950's and

1960's still believe that they benefited from taking part in such activities. We went too far with the practice in the late 1950's, and went to extremes by practicing open-door schooling, spending most of the time on physical labor in factories or in the countryside during the Cultural Revolution period. In the early years of the 1980's, the malpractice of "running schools" behind closed doors was found in many localities, going from one extreme to the other. In the last few years, the situation turned for the better, but it did not get anywhere, because only separate efforts had been made. Facts show that we should not go beyond the limit, neither should we have our hands tied.

Lenin said, "Only when we become one with workers and peasants can we become genuine communists." At present, it is still necessary for intellectuals to embark on the path of integrating themselves with the masses of workers and peasants. Some people said that, since the intellectuals have become a part of the working class, why should they integrate with workers and peasants. We believe that the formulation that the intelligentsia is a part of the working class, which was put forward by the party Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping, refers to the class attribute of intellectuals. The argument was raised to negate the "left" viewpoint of some people after we had set up the socialist system, who insisted on regarding the overwhelming majority of intellectuals as bourgeois intellectuals. It was an important thesis to bring order out of chaos. But this does not mean that intellectuals no longer need to integrate themselves with workers and peasants. The masses of workers and peasants constitute the main body of society. Only when intellectuals familiarize themselves with the masses of workers and peasants, are willing to work for their interests, and are welcomed by them, can they make achievements. Again, it should be realized that an important reason why China's intellectuals have become an integral part of the working class is, apart from a great change in the economic system and production relations, which is the fundamental reason, that the intellectuals made great achievements in their effort to integrate themselves with workers and peasants. Therefore, although the intellectuals have became one part of the working class, it remains necessary for them to learn from workers and peasants, sucking up nutrient from them so that they can improve, enrich, and develop themselves.

The accusation by some people at home and abroad that we "punish" college students and young intellectuals by ordering them to take part in social practice following the old disastrous practice of "transferring cadres to do manual labor in the countryside or factories" during the Cultural Revolution, is sheer nonsense. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the gang of four, who discriminated against, excluded, and struck at intellectuals and young students, did "send them to the countryside or factories to do physical labor," regarding the practice as a means to punish them and an aspect to exercise "overall dictatorship" over the people. But we

regard social practice as an important link of school education. The two are different in essence.

#### 4. Make It a Point To Regard Cultivating Fine School Spirit as an Important and Regular Task for Schools

School spirit exerts an imperceptible influence on students, and is an important aspect of strengthening ideological and political work and building spiritual civilization in schools. During the early years following the founding of New China, our party paid great attention to cultivation of fine spirit in colleges and universities in exercising leadership over them. The rigorous rules and regulations and discipline went hand in hand with the students' high level of political consciousness. At that time college students were filled with exultation over the founding of New China, and had a strong desire to build China into a prosperous country. This high political enthusiasm turned into the voluntary action of studying hard and observing discipline, and the spirit of emulation prevailed all over the campus. In the early 1960's and the period after college entrance examinations were resumed in 1977, colleges and universities were in good order, and the students studied hard and behaved well. However, in the last few years, the situation in many colleges deteriorated steadily. Some students were undisciplined, careless, and sloppy; some were unconventional and unrestrained; and others cheated to pass exams, came to blows, got drunk and created disturbances, indulged in gambling, and so on. The situation went from bad to worse during the student movement and the turmoil. Colleges and universities were in an uproar. Some students violated discipline, gathered fellow students to make trouble, cried out late at night, destroyed public property, and so on. Although it was a temporary phenomenon, it served to indicate what a mess the colleges had gotten into, which seriously poisoned young students' minds. Apart from social factors, college authorities, who ignored ideological education and management, should be held responsible for the mess. At present we should address the problem seriously by suiting the remedy to the case, placing the task of straightening things out in colleges on the agenda of our ideological and political work.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that we should train young people into a generation of people of a new type with lofty ideals, a sense of discipline, high morality, and culture. He also pointed out that of the four requirements, the first two are the most important. This is the basic guiding principle we should follow in building fine school spirit and is also the basic demand. Education in lofty ideals is the most important thing to do in our effort to attain the intended purpose. While helping students to reject bourgeois liberalization, we should conduct education in socialist and communist ideals. We should analyze China's actual national conditions and tell the students the historical necessity of taking the socialist road so that they can really understand that only socialism can save China and make China prosperous. We should also make it clear that we must go through countless difficulties and setbacks before we can build a

socialist society with Chinese characteristics, and that the people of the current and the next two or three generations have a heavy historical responsibility on their shoulders so that the students will take the teachings as a motivation and study hard. We should also carry out education in discipline, amplify necessary rules and regulations, and run the college strictly. It is necessary to make students aware that freedom and discipline are united and cannot be separated. Our people enjoy freedom and other rights prescribed by the Constitution and law, but they are also subject to discipline. College students are no exception. At present, we must first of all strengthen political discipline and punish a very small number of students who violated the law and discipline so that the majority of students can be educated and draw a lesson. In this respect, the crux of the matter lies in the leadership concerned. They must take a bold and assured stand in straightening things out in every field of work. Whether they are determined to take disciplinary measures against a very small number of people who violated the law and discipline shows, in essence, whether they have faith in the majority of teachers and students. For the majority of students, it is necessary to educate and keep them within the bounds of discipline, enabling them to gradually cultivate good habits of studying hard, respecting teachers, holding friends dear, taking good care of public property, upholding public order, working hard, practicing thrift, loving labor, and paying attention to hygiene. As long as we make unremitting efforts, the flower of spiritual civilization will surely come into bloom on the campus.

We must cultivate fine spirit in colleges by the method of democracy, persuasion and education, and criticism and self-criticism. During the last few years many people thought that criticism and self-criticism and enforcing discipline were incompatible with the method of inducing students to realize their mistakes. In fact, carrying out criticism and self-criticism, enforcing discipline, and handling affairs according to the law are also ways of achieving the same objective. To induce students to realize their mistakes, it is essential for the leading cadres, political workers, and the masses of party members and teachers to set an example, influencing the students by their exemplary conduct.

#### **5. Make It a Point To Regard Building Quality Contingents of Political Workers and Teachers as the Most Important Capital Construction for Colleges**

Building quality contingents of political workers and teachers is of long-term strategic importance for ensuring the socialist orientation of colleges and universities. This is the most important capital construction for colleges and also an important tradition by which our party exercises leadership over colleges.

In the last few years, however, new problems cropped up with respect to this task and we failed to pay enough attention to them and solve them in time; of course, given the conditions of that time, some problems

defied solution. The recent turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion further revealed the problems, and it is high time that we concentrate our energy on settling these problems.

Assigning full-time political workers to do ideological and political work among college students of units under department or college leadership was an important measure to run a socialist college, but in the last few years the measure was called into question under the influence of Comrade Zhao Ziyang, who "weakened" party leadership and tried to "transform" ideological and political work. In their effort to reform the management system, some colleges replaced full-time political workers with part-time ones, "weakening" ideological and political work. Some colleges still keep their contingents of political workers, but the latter did not keep their mind on their work. The failure of some colleges to take up the practical matter relating to the title and payment of political workers also caused ideological confusion among them. A pressing task of the moment is to carry forward the glorious tradition of our party's ideological and political work, and, by taking warning from the student movement and the turmoil, remind everybody that ideological and political work is the lifeblood of college work. The extreme importance of ideological and political work makes it essential to build up a crack contingent of political workers. At the same time, we should arouse the masses of teachers to action, asking them to help with ideological work, especially those teachers who enjoy great prestige among the masses, and preserve a firm and correct political orientation. It is necessary to improve political workers' political and professional ability so that they will uphold the four cardinal principles, support the reform and open policies, be good at studying, have a good grasp of the party's guiding principles and policies, have an understanding of socialist construction, maintain close links with the masses of students, and be good at setting up an example and accomplishing their tasks. It is necessary to develop a number of experts on ideological and political work who will be able to master and apply laws of ideological and political work through repeated practice, pushing the ideological and political work in colleges to a higher level.

For teachers, the key problem of the moment is how to conduct moral education while passing on knowledge. Over the last few years some teachers held a lopsided view that the teachers' responsibility is to communicate knowledge; it is the duty of leading cadres and political workers to be concerned about the students' ideology. In addition, in grading teachers, we regarded scientific treatises as superior to teaching performance, especially to achievements in ideological and political work. This practice misled our teachers. The masses of teachers should learn from the proletarian educator Xu Teli, doing a good job in enabling students to "develop intellectually and morally." Our revered Xu believed that to rear people culturally and morally concerns the character and morals of teachers. Apart from passing on knowledge, a teacher should be concerned about the

students' moral character, conduct, habits, and way of life. Every teacher should arm their minds with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, improve his political and ideological quality, and set up a good example to students in many respects.

#### 6. Upholding Party Leadership Is the Fundamental Guarantee for Properly Doing Ideological and Political Work and Work in Other Fields in the College

The serious problems with institutions of higher learning revealed in the turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion and mistakes committed by a number of party organizations and party members are an inevitable outcome of the weakened party leadership and ideological work over the last few years. Where does the profound lesson lie? I believe the main problem lies in the fact that the sense of party leadership got blunted and that we failed to bring into play the role of the college party committee as a political nucleus during the last few years. As far as the situation in the ideological field was concerned, bourgeois liberalization eroded our party in the last few years, ideological confusion was found within the party organization in colleges, and some party members did not have enough conviction about communism. The party's role as core leadership was, in fact, crippled; the relations between the party and the Communist Youth League and those between the party and the trade union were thrown into confusion; the party organization at the grassroots level was partially paralyzed; and some party members failed to play their role, regarding themselves as ordinary people.

The principal mission of institutions of higher learning is to cultivate successors to the socialist cause, who are politically sound and professionally competent. This mission concerns the destiny and future of our country and nation. Colleges and universities also constitute an important target where international reactionary forces try to peddle "peaceful evolution," and they have tried to infiltrate the campus through various channels for many years. Those who are in favor of bourgeois liberalization in the country have also tried to win college students away from us. Therefore, without firm party leadership, we would fail to hold the position.

To improve party leadership, we must strengthen the party ideologically and organizationally and improve its work style. It is necessary to organize study of the spirit of the 4th and 5th Plenary Sessions of the 13th CPC Central Committee and Comrade Jiang Zemin's National Day speech so that the broad masses of party members will check their actual performance during the turmoil against the above spirit and speech and reach a common understanding. It is necessary to carry out education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, party program, party constitution, and communist ideals among the broad masses of party members, improving their quality. To build the party ideologically, we have to accomplish two things: 1) To educate party members so that they will resolutely uphold the four cardinal principles and fully realize

that the four cardinal principles are the foundation of our country, in which we should never lose faith. This is the political yardstick to judge a party member under the new situation. 2) To educate party members to uphold the principle of serving the people heart and soul, acquire a revolutionary outlook of life and revolutionary values, and wage an unremitting struggle against individualism, money worship, and other corrupt ideas. Integrating theories with practice, establishing close ties to the masses, and carrying out criticism and self-criticism are our party's fine tradition, but some comrades forgot it during the last few years. Improving work style has become an important matter of the moment. To integrate theory with practice, the main task for party members is to take a lead in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, following Marxist basic principles, working hard to probe the law of running socialist colleges with Chinese characteristics, and raising the consciousness of implementing the party Central Committee's principles and policies on education. To establish close relations with the masses, the most important thing for party members to do is to unite with the broad masses of teachers and students to run the college well under the guidance of the party's policy toward intellectuals. In the last few years, some responsible cadres of the party organization were afraid to carry out criticism and they tried to mediate differences with the sacrifice of principle, with the result that problems that should have been addressed were not addressed in time and that the capacity of the party organization was weakened. It is necessary to improve the party's work style by summing up past experiences and lessons. For the organizational building, the important task is to uphold and improve the system of the president of the college assuming responsibility under the leadership of the party committee, do a good job in building the party branch in the teaching and research section and among students so as to bring into play the role of the grassroots-level party organization as a political nucleus and a fighting fortress, and the exemplary role of party members. It is necessary to strengthen party discipline and foster securely the party member's sense of responsibility to the party. Communist Party members should, first of all, regard themselves as Communist Party members whether they are professors, research fellows, or leading cadres, and should set strict demands on themselves in accordance with the criteria required of party members. It is necessary to attach great importance to the ideological quality when recruiting new party members.

In short, the serious political task facing us is to carry forward our party's fine tradition of doing ideological and political work, sum up new experiences, and create new methods so that the spirit of the 4th and 5th Plenary Sessions of the 13th CPC Central Committee will be truly carried out and the socialist orientation of colleges ensured. We must go all-out to achieve this goal.

### On Rewriting the History of Literature

HK2302100090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 90 pp 27-29

[Article by Tang Tao (0781 1718)]

[Text] I supervised the publication of a book called *The History of Modern Chinese Literature*, printed in three volumes, and it was later abridged into the "Shorter Edition." It is exaggerating a little to say that I "supervised the publication," because I only undertook the writing of a very little portion as well as going through the book. Although I did make some limitations and put forward some suggestions, they were all stylistic rules and layout only. The book is, after all, the result of joint efforts and everyone's toil. And the "Shorter Edition" was published more than five years ago. According to international practice, this kind of books should have been revised, and some of my colleagues also proposed revision. On my part, I agree with this completely. However, I am too busy and new responsibilities are falling on my shoulders, keeping me always busy. Whenever I recall the mistakes in the book I feel compunction. Since 1988, many people have proposed that we rewrite the history of literature (this, of course, means the entire history of literature, especially the history of modern literature), while I, as the lady in Lu Xun's article who "heard the weeping in the distance," looked here and there and "felt extremely excited and happy," am so slow in making progress and the idea of "finding someone else to take my place" has struck my mind. This is what Mr. Lu Xun bitterly denounced. Nonetheless, I cherish a sincere hope of possessing a better history of modern Chinese literature, especially one that is more serious in seeking truth from facts. I have no selfish motives at all, and for this I can make an oath in front of the heavens.

I agree on the idea of rewriting the history of literature and I believe that there are a variety of ways to rewrite it and that it is not necessary and not mandatory to stick to one particular way. However, the history of literature must be the history of literature as such and it must deal with literature. It functions to analyze and mention literary works by means of ideas and art, and it is not the history of conflicts between ideas, still less the history of political movements. By saying so, I do not scorn ideological struggles and political struggles in the least. I think that they should be written separately, as they do not fall into the category of literary history, which is our duty to write. However, the history of literature is not a commentary on literary works or on writers either. It is true that it must analyze and comment on literary works and writers. However, more important, it should present the whole development course, origins, and change of literature based on those analyses and comments; then it can be called history. In saying so, I do not scorn the comments on literary works and writers; although I believe that they should be written separately and that it is not the duty of the history of literature. The same old words again: The history of literature must be the history

of literature. It is both literature and history that mention the true history of the evolution course and development trend of literature.

In consideration of this general principle, everyone can use what he is best gifted with and do what he should without being confined to one particular style. Some can write chronicles. Some can make deductions by analogy. Others can draw conclusions, reflecting the recognized arguments in literary studies. Still others can express their own views and say something new which no one has ever thought of, or comment on artistic creations, or study the influence of literary works. As for discovering new works and new writers, it is all the more a common task all literary historians should take up.

As far as I am concerned, I agree that literary historians should have a wider scope of view. Whatever falls into the domain of modern literature (new literature) should be written, and writers, whether leftist, neutral, or rightist, should also be written about if their attainments are up to good artistic standards. We should never change literary history into leftwing literary history as we did in the past. In fact, without the presence of rightism and neutralism, how can leftism turn up? And how will we be able to say that something tends to be rightist if there is nothing leftist or neutral? The history of literature should be a comprehensive but very concise one. By pointing out the rightist, leftist, or neutral tendencies of a literary work, writing about its literary school and origin, adding changes in theme, replacing the methods of creation, and then slightly drawing its outline, the ideas of development of a literary history immediately appear.

So, how shall we draw its outline?

I think that our life should be the subject and that we should compile a history of literature centered on the school that reflects life as its subject. In this way, it reflects both the development of social life and the evolution of literature itself so that the threads that are scattered all over the book can be easily understood. Mr. Dun Mao wrote several articles, advancing that we should use realism and anti-realism as the connecting threads for the compilation of the history of Chinese literature. In fact, a literary school includes the principles and methods of creation. However, it does not seem appropriate to group all nonrealistic works together under the category of anti-realism, because classical Chinese works that tend to realism often also contain romanticism or other thoughts and artistic styles. We cannot regard them as belonging to one particular school. This is also true of the fact that, during the May 4th Movement of 1919 when we introduced realism, we introduced Russian realism instead of Western realism. As we all know, as far as concepts are concerned, Russian realism is not completely the same as realism in other European countries because it often carries romanticism and elements of other methods of creation; and vice versa. Life is complicated and artistic phenomena are as complicated also. Andreyev believed himself to be a

symbolist, while Lu Xun said: "Andreyev's works embrace serious realism, depths, and refinement. They coordinate symbolic impressionism and realism. No other Russian writers ever produced works like his that eradicate the differences between the inner world and outer performance, protruding the integration of body and soul. Although his works are full of symbolism, they still retain realism." Artsybashev, a decadent, also said, "Andreyev was one of the typical models of modern Russian literature and he belonged to the school of realism. He could express realistic ideas so deeply that his contemporaries called him the supreme one." Was Lu Xun mistaken or did he misunderstand it? No, except for the confusion over the use of the words naturalism and realism. I believe that their works certainly contain realistic elements in a broad sense.

As for realism and nonrealism, they are unseparately intermingled with each other. This is also true of realism and romanticism. Gogol was a realistic writer and he wrote a nonrealistic book called *The Nose*. Balzac also wrote one called *The Donkey's Skin*. Du Fu, the Chinese poet in the Tang dynasty, was closer to realism, but sometimes he was quite "romantic" too. Li Bai is more of a romanticist, but he also wrote some realistic works. In so saying, I do not advocate that everything has to be strictly distinguished: White is white, and black is black. On the contrary, I think that this understanding is too polarized and it replaces the prefix "non-" before the word realism with "anti-", saying that all nonrealistic works are anti-realistic ones (actually modernism also reflects reality, but it uses different methods) so as to play down on them. This is not only too excessive but also impossible. If this is used as the threads that run through the whole book, it will definitely exclude many other works, and it will be impossible to complete the compilation we need of the history of literature.

I agree with the idea of rewriting the history of literature and believe that as long as we are writing true literary history it does not matter what method of writing we use. I think, however, that we need to be careful about this: Our book should have more original ideas than similar books already published and should show progress. It should avoid the errors and mistakes we made in the past. In view of the whole literary history, let us quote a simple example, by summing up the literary studies among scholars during the Qing dynasty on the heritable scholarly research methods, I have not done careful research so I dare not say whether or not we already write in the literary style which was popular during the Jian An and Zheng Shi periods or in the manner of Tong City and Xiang Town. As for the history of modern literature, I always think that we have done too little in describing the styles of writers and in making artistic analysis of literary works. When compiling the three volumes, we stressed the need to scatter threads all over the book. Nonetheless, we chose ideological struggles and political movements as our threads, overlooking the analysis of the literary style of groups of writers. When we discovered this mistake, we deleted the part on ideological

struggles and political movements in our "Shorter Edition," and enhanced our analysis, making it almost like a commentary on the literary works of writers in which we cannot find the historical aspects of development and evolution, therefore, it is not a real history of literature. I can also use my personal experiences to share some specific feelings about compiling modern literary history. As far as literary and artistic movements are concerned, I did not, for instance, make a sufficient description of the merits and achievements of the Leftwing Writers Union. The "Leftwing Writers Union" was founded in 1930, which was exactly the beginning of what the world called the "Red 1930's." During this time, China was sticking to the "leftist" orientation. Under this climate, "leftism" was an unavoidable fact. On the one hand, we stressed that literary and artistic groups should possess the quality of political parties, so we excluded many able and excellent writers. Moreover, we indiscriminately criticized all writers who wrote for the magazine XI YUE [NEW MOON] and some so-called "people of the third kind," using the view of mechanical materialism. As Lu Xun said: "Those people who claim to be the only ones that have grasped the proletarian ideas, therefore they consider themselves true proletarians." They have separated themselves from the broad masses of people by drawing a small circle round themselves. On the other hand, the "leftist" orientation caused losses, and many members of the Union gradually awakened. Moreover, the "Leftwing Writers Union" carried out its activities under the leadership of Lu Xun who had made many boycotts and succeeded in bringing together some famous and successful writers such as Yu Dafu, Ba Jin, and Cao Yu.

As far as the comments on writers are concerned, modern literary history has certainly made low appraisals of such writers as Yu Dafu, Lao She, Shen Congwen, Xu Zhimo, Qian Zhongshu, and Yang Jiang. I made a self-criticism at the Meeting in Commemoration of Yu Dafu held in Fuyang in the September of 1985. And I think it necessary to properly raise the status of these writers in the history of modern literature. However, I never intend to look down on Mao Dun and Zhao Shuli. In addition to *Midnight*, Mao Dun also wrote *Lin's Shop*, and the rural trilogy *Silkworms in Springtime*. Although Zhao Shuli himself was rather limited, his style was outstanding and the language he used was plain and vivid, which was the language of peasants; this helps to change the fault of "someone dressing like a manual worker while his face is that of an intellectual of petty bourgeoisie," and therefore his works should be affirmed. Now some people are beginning to criticize the so-called "direction of Zhao Shuli." I do not remember who chanted the slogan "direction of Zhao Shuli." Comrade Mao Zedong stressed the integration of writers and the masses and I think this is correct. Under the historical conditions of those days, putting special emphasis on the integration of workers and peasants is not excessive. He did not mention the "direction of Zhao Shuli." Instead, he mentioned, "The direction of Lu

Xun is the new cultural direction of the Chinese nation." This is much more practical and much wider, and is in complete harmony with the new objective cultural development trend of China during "the May 4th Movement of 1919."

I think that Xu Zhimo had some merits in the creation of new poems. His poems *In the Mountains*, and *Goodbye, Cambridge* are really notable ones. Although he did not write many, his poems are really precious. Shen Congwen is an outstanding and great writer. His long stories such as *The Remote Town* and his short stories such as *Husband*, and *The Painting of Good Horses* are all excellent works, which are rarely found. They make local customs and conditions vivid on paper; whether coarse or refined, they are all natural and arouse our interest to varying degrees. Nevertheless, I maintain that we should be realistic in properly appraising the works of these schools, which are still ones that deserve affirmation in the history of modern literature. It should not be our practice to criticize them violently as people abroad do their works. However, I do not agree that people label such works as bourgeois liberalization because it is a political concept. They are different things; what we are talking about is the question of passing appraisals on the works of writers. When foreign people say something and we follow suit at once without straightening our backbone, we will be suspected of somewhat praising "that the moon in other countries is better."

I think that compilations such as the history of literature should be revised periodically, especially at a time when modern literary history is still developing. It is, of course, much better if it can be rewritten. Nonetheless, we must stick to the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and advocate varied ways of writing. We should not honor one particular way as extreme.

20 October 1989, Beijing

**In Rewriting the History of Literature, It Is Necessary To Have Correct Guiding Ideology**  
HK2802153190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 90 pp 30-36

[Article by Lin Zhihao (2651 1807 3185)]

[Text] Since the new period began, the study of modern literature has become a sphere full of lively thinking, rich achievements, and new talents. Some originally forbidden areas have been broken and the works of many writers who were discriminated against in the past have been reappraised. People's field of vision has been widened and the criticisms have become more realistic. This is a new situation resulting from the emancipation of the mind and the renewal of concepts. Thus, people are no longer satisfied with the original history of literature. They demand the reappraisal and rewriting of this history. This is a natural demand. The question is how do we rewrite history? In this connection, the first question is the question of guiding ideology. In other words, it is necessary to

adhere to Marxism. Marxism is a developing science. But we must adhere to its basic viewpoints. Otherwise, we will be unable to develop it. When studying the history of literature, we must always adhere to the basic viewpoints of Marxism, including historical materialism and the viewpoint that literature and art are a special form of social ideology and that both ideological content and artistic form should be taken into consideration when making literary and art criticisms. In the current discussion on "rewriting the history of literature," there are many good ideas and achievements that should be affirmed. However, in some articles, there are also viewpoints reflecting the corrosive influence of bourgeois liberalization. Under such a situation, it is especially necessary to emphasize a correct guiding ideology.

1

What is the nature of the new culture that start with "May 4th"? This is a question we cannot evade in the study of the history of literature. Some time ago, some people were fond of talking about the "awakening" of man and the "emancipation of individuality" of the "individualistic departmentalism" advocated by Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren as representative of this spirit, and saying that it "reflects the thoroughgoing antifeudal nature of the May 4th New Culture Movement." They appraised the ideological trend and literature of the "May 4th" period merely from the angle of new democratism, disregarding the new development of that ideological trend after "May 4th" when it was linked with the new era and the people's revolution. Some of them negated this objective historical fact, regarding it as a pattern of mechanical materialism that had been imposed on literature. Some people held that, according to the "modern" concept of new democratism, literature was divided into feudal, fascist, bourgeois, and proletarian literature. But, except for proletarian literature, all the others were put in a position of being criticized. For this reason, they held that only by breaking with "this pattern" could we fulfill our tasks. In fact, they had lumped together the historical necessity of modern literature with certain oversimplified viewpoints arising in the course of understanding this necessity, and negated both of them. In my opinion, we must oppose the simple method of applying labels, but the new democratic nature of modern literature is not a subjective assumption of certain authority, but an objective reality reflecting history. It reflects the profound relationship between modern culture and the new era and the people's revolution. If we disregard the nature reflected in "modern" concepts and do not carry out concrete class analysis of modern literature, we will not be able to "establish a systematic and scientific pattern" and can only create confusion for "rewriting" the history of literature.

Looking back on history, it is true that the enlightenment movement, with "individualistic departmentalism" as the center, including the demand for the awakening of man and the emancipation of individuality, was an

ideological weapon for fighting feudalism, which played a positive role in the "May 4th" Movement. However, China after "May 4th" was not France in the 18th Century. Apart from departmentalism, various other ideological trends were spreading there, including Darwin's theory of evolution, Nietzsche's philosophy, and Marxism-Leninism. At that time, apart from Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren, many other people, such as Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, and Shen Yanbing, were also advocating new culture and new literature. In the face of all kinds of Western ideologies, they all had their own understanding and choices. But the result of the historical choices was to "follow the Russians" and adopt Marxism to oppose feudalism and negate the capitalist road. In the cultural sphere, ideological enlightenment by departmentalism was sublimated into ideological enlightenment by Marxism, and the emancipation of individuality was sublimated into the "emancipation of class," the "emancipation of nation," and the "emancipation of mankind." This was a development from a lower level to a higher level, from general democratism to the people's democratism and socialism. Therefore, to say in very general terms that the awakening of man and the emancipation of individuality was the main spirit of "May 4th" culture is just a viewpoint lacking scientific and concrete analysis.

Take Lu Xun for example. Even in the "May 4th" period, there were already some differences between his viewpoint and those of Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren on the question of emancipation of individuality. When the latter were forcefully propagating "individualistic departmentalism" and emphasizing the development of individual consciousness, Lu Xun, who had been influenced by the spirit of the new era, not only emphasized the "awakening of man" and individual consciousness, but also emphasized self-transformation and self-sacrifice. He held that intellectuals "must transform themselves before transforming society and the world." (*Hot Air: Die With Regret*) To show his difference with "individualistic departmentalism" on the relationship between oneself and others, he put forth a viewpoint of "the youngster's departmentalism." In order to ensure the existence of the nation and social development, he held that awakened people should sacrifice themselves for the youngsters (the latecomers)—"With heavy loads on their backs and a dark gate on their shoulder, they should let them go somewhere spacious and bright." (*The Grave: How To Be a Good Father*) On the relationship between individual and group, he held that "everyone should do his bit." "Once the sun comes out, or if there is a torch, we would certainly disappear... Because it has illuminated all mankind, including myself." (*Hot Air: Random Thoughts 4*) Although they all advocated emancipation of individuality and enlightenment, there were obviously great differences between the faction represented by Lu Xun and that represented by Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren. After "May 4th," the differences changed gradually into two different lines of development. What Lu Xun represented was a line of people's democratism, which was characterized by the advance

toward militant proletarian collectivism through self-transformation and self-sacrifice. What Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren represented was a line of bourgeois liberalization. They flaunted the banner of independence and impartiality in political affairs, but were actually vacillating all the time and were continuously splitting up amid sharp struggles. Eventually, some of them became the enemy of the people or scum of the nation. The development and changes of these two lines decided the historical fate of the great majority of Chinese intellectuals and writers. As a result, the line represented by Lu Xun gave a correct orientation for the development of new culture and new literature in China. It attracted the broad masses of intellectuals and writers, including some liberals who had been influenced by Hu Shi and others, to unite and to achieve a common understanding. Wen Yiduo, a writer of the New Moon faction, said, "Now we have to confess the wrongs we have done him. We have been wrong to scold him. Lu Xun is right, and we are wrong." (Quoted from Kawashima: *Great Master and Gardener*) Therefore, it is very important for us to make a concrete class analysis, otherwise we may become confused in thinking on the question of "awakening of man" and "emancipation of individuality," taking the thinking of Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren as the mainstream of the new literature movement after "May 4th" and distorting the nature of modern literature.

## II

The nature of new democratism of modern literature shows that it has profound relations with the times and politics. Being an aesthetic form, literature cannot be independent of the political background of a specific time. It was with definite political intentions that the forerunners of the literature revolution appeared on the battlefield of the "May 4th" new literature. Chen Duxiu said, "At present, in order to carry out political reforms, we cannot but simultaneously carry out literature reform in spiritual circles." (*On Literature Revolution*) Lu Xun entitled his short story collection *Call to Arms* and solemnly declared, "Since it is thus named, it should obey the order of its commander." (Preface to *Call to Arms*) The close relationship between literature and art imposed by anyone is but a reflection of the demand of the time and history. In the dark society of old China, writers were never provided with an "ivory tower." They could only struggle for existence under the oppression of old forces when the fate of the nation was hanging in the balance. It was impossible to require them to ponder literary questions merely from an aesthetic angle without taking into consideration what was happening in the human world.

The slogan of literature serving politics, or revolutionary literature serving revolutionary politics, was first put forth in the 1920's. In the 1940's, Comrade Mao Zedong made a further theoretical exposition of the slogan. It reflected the tradition and mission of modern literature, which have played a positive role in history. However, this slogan was once improperly exaggerated and made absolute, which resulted in a unitary form of literary

content and theme and formularization and generalization of artistic expression. During the 10 years of turmoil, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, who had ulterior motives, made use of this slogan and brought about a disastrous crisis in literature and art circles. The party Central Committee summed up the historical experiences and lessons in good time. It fully affirmed the positive and fighting role of this slogan in the past and criticized and corrected some deviations.

However, when the party was readjusting the literature and art policy, some advocates of bourgeois liberalization took this opportunity to deny that literature is also a kind of social ideology with has all sorts of relations to politics. They one-sidedly emphasized that literature is literature and stressed its aesthetic functions and internal law only. Some even set its aesthetic functions against its functions of recognition and education. Some of them proposed rewriting the history of modern Chinese literature "according to literary standards, such as originality, integrity, harmony, vividness, and profundity of art, rather than to nonliterary standards such as faithfulness, ideological content, and political content." This is really a very fantastic idea! Artistic quality can even be separated from the content of life and ideological trends, and the history of literature can even stand independently, disregarding historical facts and political guidance. The pity is that even to this day, people still have not seen such a "history of literature." If there were such a book, it should be called the "history of the artistic form of literature" rather than the "history of literature."

On the relationship between literature and politics, people must understand clearly that the party's current literature and art policy is a scientific policy. Although we do not use the formulation of literature and art serving and being subordinate to politics, this does not negate the political inclination of literature and art. On the contrary, we emphasize that literature and art cannot be separated from politics and that literature and art workers must follow a correct political orientation. For this reason, we should never distort the party's policy and merely emphasize the artistic quality and the "independent and aesthetic" nature of literature and art. Moreover, when "rewriting the history of literature," we are faced with a history of several decades since "May 4th." We should not shut our eyes to the close relations between politics and literature in those years. When studying the literature of a specific time, the main thing is to see whether it reflects vividly the historical facts refracted by the complicated social relations of that time and whether it relays the spirit of the time, which was reflecting the pace of the development of history and the feelings and will of the broad masses of people. Naturally, literature is a kind of art. It demands a vivid and touching artistic image and form. Therefore, when studying the history of literature, we must also study the changes and laws of the artistic forms of literature. However, artistic quality cannot exist in isolation. Its real value is determined by how it reflects historical facts

and the spirit of the time. The changes and laws of artistic forms are also closely linked to this. If we do not use the viewpoint unifying the true, the good, and the beautiful to appraise modern writers and their works and emphasize only the political criteria to the neglect of artistic criteria, or emphasize the aesthetic art to the neglect of its ideological content, we are certainly wrong. The latter is especially harmful in the appraisal of the literature since "May 4th."

In the 30 years after "May 4th," our country was in an abyss of suffering and in a situation of domestic trouble plus foreign invasion. All kindhearted writers had a strong sense of responsibility toward society and were eager for a change in the status quo. That was why they took up their pen as a weapon and wrote many articles. Many of them urged that literature "should 'serve life' and life should be changed." With the development of history and the awakening of their class consciousness, they changed "serve life" into "serve the revolution," and, later, "serve the War of Resistance Against Japan" and "serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers." This reflected the demands of the time and the mainstream in the development of literature. Therefore, the tradition of literature after "May 4th" was a tradition of revolution and a tradition of writers consciously or unconsciously linking themselves with or serving social reforms or revolutionary struggles. This is an objective fact. It is necessary to make a realistic analysis of its great achievements and historical merits as well as certain rough and naive aspects that were unavoidable in its rapid development. We cannot convince people if we affirm everything in an oversimplified manner or deny everything rudely.

However, some people have fundamentally denied this tradition. They even said that Lu Xun's tradition was not a tradition of "literature serving life," which was then developed into a tradition of "serving the revolution." It was but a tradition of aesthetics. "His tradition was not inherited. Later, there appeared the slogan of 'literature serving life' and 'literature serving the broad masses of the proletariat,' which brought literature step by step entirely into the orbit of political struggle." They said with certainty, "This is not literature. It is contradictory to literature." Anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of literature knows that throughout his life, Lu Xun advocated that literature should "serve life." By writing novels, he was not trying to make himself a man of letters. He was using the strength of novels to "transform society." (*Mixed Dialects: How I Came To Write Stories*) Lu Xun emphasized that literature should serve life, the revolution, and the broad masses of the proletariat. He adhered to this principle from beginning to end and carried out a protracted and forceful struggle against the trend of aestheticism which separated literature from life and political affairs. In this regard, no one else in the history of literature can be compared with him. Were his disputes with the New Moon faction, the Confucian Analects faction, and the "Third Kind of Men" not good examples of this struggle? What is the difference between

the theory totally negating the literature that has been "brought into the orbit of political struggle" and denouncing it as "nonliterature" and the theories advocated by Hu Qiyuan, Su Wen, and others in the 1930's? According to this theory and judged by this "nonpolitical" criterion, not only the works of Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, and all the leftwing writers and the revolutionary writers in both the liberated areas and the areas under the rule of the Kuomintang (KMT), but also Cao Yu's *Changes*, Ba Jin's *Cold Night*, Lao She's *Four Generations of a Family*, and many outstanding pieces by other writers are all among those to be criticized as "nonliterature" and excluded. What will be left in our history of literature if we "reappraise" and "rewrite" it in this way?

In the eyes of some people who advocate "rewriting" the history of literature, of all the works of Lu Xun, only the book *Wild Grass* is worth mentioning, because it "describes dreams, and describes them very beautifully." All those depicting reality are beyond their line of vision. As to *A Madman's Diary*, its real value is not in the criticism of feudal society, but in "touching upon many eternal things of human beings" and in the "high-level understanding of human beings." According to this reappraisal, Lu Xun's works were not written for realistic struggle, but were just some imaginings on the "eternal things" of "human beings." Many works of Guo Moruo, including his well-known historical play *Qu Yuan*, are held to have "become worse and worse" as they "were brought into the orbit of political struggle." Mao Dun's works too, are unable to escape criticism. His masterpiece, *Midnight*, has been criticized as an "unsuccessful piece of art work." The capitalists in the novel, such as Wu Sunfu, Zhao Botao, Du Zhuzhai, and Zhou Zhongwei, are regarded as "images that have been unsuccessfully portrayed. They all lack artistic charm and cannot arouse the aesthetic interest of the readers and their reading interest."

Through studying Zhao Shuli, He Qifang, Liu Qing, and other writers and by commenting on this "phenomenon" and that, these comrades found that "after May 4th all the top-grade writers, except for Lu Xun, joined the revolution. Those of other grades were also following some politicians and making some complaints. How could all this be regarded as literary creation?" What a way they were speaking! In the history of literature, "except for Lu Xun," all the literature and art workers and writers who had been working hard for national salvation and the people's liberation were given a snort of contempt and regarded as "low-grade" writers and imbeciles who could do nothing at all but "follow some politicians and make some complaints." The entire history of literature was thus written off at one stroke. However, this is by no means a truthful study. It is a total negation of modern literature. How could we talk about the "rewriting of the history of literature" in this way?

Is literature really incompatible with politics? Can it serve its aesthetic functions independently without politics? In my opinion, no one would agree with this

viewpoint if he had no bias on this question, because it cannot stand the test of historical facts. The special aesthetic feature of literature and art does not present an obstacle to its multiple functions, including its political, philosophical, ethical, religious, and recreational functions. The function of linking to politics is not the only function, but an important function, of literature. All kindhearted writers with a high sense of responsibility toward society recognize this function. Only those who have been deeply affected by bourgeois aestheticism regard literature as a "freak" that can be separated from politics and the realities of the time.

There are very complicated relations between literature and politics. When making literary criticism, we always demand that progressive ideas and contents be unified with perfect artistic forms. In the history of modern literature, there are many literary works that are good at unifying the two. There are also some that are not so good in this respect and that tend to formalize and generalize and some that have good artistic forms but are full of vulgar or reactionary ideas. This is a natural phenomenon. When we are pondering questions concerning the development of new literature, we must adhere to the viewpoint of historical materialism and proceed from reality. This is very important. First, we must realize that the new literature is a literature that has just come into being. It needs time to temper itself. It is unavoidable that it may be rough and immature on some occasions. Second, because things were developing rapidly and class struggle was sharp after "May 4th," all writers with a sense of justice and a revolutionary consciousness found it very difficult to concentrate all their energy on their literary creations. On certain occasions, in order to keep pace with the time and suit their works to the needs of the struggle, they had to finish their works very quickly. Thus, they left some rough spots in their works. Third, most of our writers were intellectuals with class origins different from the workers and peasants. Inspired by the great time of the people's revolution, they were no longer willing to always depict the trivial matters around themselves and the joys and sorrows and partings and reunions of the people. They determinedly took up their pens to depict the hardships and struggles of the people and reflect the great era of transformation. Compared with self-expression, this was an entirely new sphere to them. It was impossible for them to become familiar with the people and things they were depicting immediately and to depict their life and struggles very proficiently. Under such restrictive conditions, the progressive writers did not slacken their efforts. Bravely, they pioneered a new sphere of literature. Their efforts should be commended rather than denounced. Although they scored different achievements in various fields, there were quite a few works that were good at combining ideological content and artistic forms. Even as to those that were not so good at combining the two, we should also make an enthusiastic and realistic analysis of them rather than rudely negate the arduous efforts of the writers and blame politics in an oversimplified manner.

Of course, we do not mean that many outstanding works of this era, such as *Midnight* and *The Sun Shines Over the Sanggan River*, are flawless and cannot be criticized. The issue is that, when making criticisms, we must be realistic and must take both ideological content and artistic form into consideration, rather than unreasonably demand perfection and rashly negate them according to a so-called "aesthetic" criterion, while, on the contrary, tolerating and flattering some works that have better artistic quality but are separated from the time and show an unhealthy ideological trend.

Take *Midnight*, for example. If it is "an unsuccessful artistic work," we would not be able to explain why it became a best seller both at home and abroad soon after it was published in 1933. Qu Qiubai praised it as "China's first successful and realistic novel." ("Midnight and the Year of Chinese Products") Han Shiheng, who did not have a good opinion of leftwing literature and art, also admitted that *Midnight* "occupies the most important position" in the new literature. "The fact that it became a best seller after its publication proves its value. The indelible contribution of this book is that it has added a new vision to our barren literature and art circles. At the least, it has used fresh materials that have never been used before. All its shortcomings are glorious shortcomings for a pioneer." ("The Art, Ideas, and Characters of *Midnight*") This is a relatively realistic appraisal. It is unfair to say that the images of Wu Sunfu and other capitalists are unsuccessfully portrayed. I am not saying that they were all successfully portrayed, because it was impossible and unnecessary to do so. But we should say that the main characters, such as Wu Sunfu, Zhao Botao, Du Zhuzhai, and Zhou Zhongwei, each having his distinctive disposition, were successfully portrayed. Wu Sunfu, in particular, was a typical character showing the writer's profound understanding of the nature of national capitalists and his outstanding artistic attainments. Of course, different people have different feelings for and appraisals of the same literary work. But how can we make a realistic appraisal if we write off at one stroke those outstanding works that have been affirmed by history to the neglect of the hardships in the development of modern literature and the extensive and profound social effects of the literary works and if we stubbornly insist on an isolated "aesthetic" criterion (which is in reality a criterion of "aestheticism") in making the appraisal.

What is more, some people have even drawn an astonishing conclusion from the so-called "He Qifang phenomenon" of to this critical criterion: "Progress in ideology and retrogression in literary creation is a common phenomenon among the writers of the older generation in the history of modern and contemporary literature. This indicates the failure of the policy of 'literature and art serving politics' in the history of literature of the past two decades." We are not denying that the ideas of some writers did not agree with their writings. But there were various reasons for this. It is not right to put all the blame on the policy of "serving

politics" and exaggerate it as a "common phenomenon," because this does not conform to reality. A writer who regards revolution as his mission certainly loves literature and is ready to devote himself to literature. However, because he has placed revolution rather than art above everything else, when revolution requires him to bid farewell to literature temporarily or forever, he will conscientiously submit to the needs of revolution with no complaints. This was the road He Qifang selected after arriving in Yanan. He worked as an editor for the party paper in Chongqing, paying attention mainly to the trend and struggles of the literature and art front. When he became director of the literature research institute, he was engaged mainly in administration, literature and art commentary, and classical literature research. During these decades, he occasionally wrote some prose and poems, but his main occupation, his heart and his soul were no longer in the creation of literary work. As most of his time and energy were spent on other work, he was unable to pursue art as hard and as calmly as in the past. Moreover, as he had bid farewell for a long time to the tones and styles of the time of *Pictures of Dreams* and had to come closer to and master what he was unfamiliar with and abandon what he had learned, and his ability had fallen short of his wishes, he sometimes had to do his writing hastily and rashly. In short, there were various complicated reasons, including political reasons or the unadaptability to the demand of "serving politics," that some writers wrote nothing or wrote very few articles after liberation and that their quality was not as good as before. However, the main reason for most of them, especially many well-known writers from the KMT-ruled areas, was that, in the face of the great changes from the old society to the new, they were reluctant or had "insufficient" materials to depict the life and people they were familiar with in the past, and they were unfamiliar with the new realities and new people they wished to reflect in their writings. In addition, as there were frequent political movements and some writers had to work in many different posts, they could not but spend much time and labor on other jobs. As a result, the writings of some writers did not agree with their ideas. As a matter of fact, before and after liberation, there existed in China large numbers of writers who were progressive in the fields of both thought and literary creation. This was a much more common phenomenon than the so-called "He Qifang phenomenon." For example, despite their differences in writing, great ideological and literary achievements were attained by a great number of writers under the guidance of a lofty political target, such as Ai Qing, Zhou Libo, Yao Xueyin, Zhou Erfu, Ouyang Shan, Liu Baiyu, and Yang Shuo, who were of about the same age and had almost the same experiences as He Qifang and He Jingzhi, Liu Qing, Sun Li, Yang Mo, Li Ji, Ma Feng, and Liang Bin, who became well-known later than He Qifang. Only this can be regarded as a normal and common phenomenon and an inspiring fact. Some people are not interested in this fact and turn a blind eye to it. Instead, they take delight in talking about the so-called "He Qifang phenomenon" and saying with certainty that this was a "result of the

failure" of "serving politics." With such frightening words, what, then, do they really intend to do by rewriting the history of literature? In what direction do they want to lead writers? Does this not call for deep thought?

## III

Judging from the emergence and development of the new literature, the development from "sitting-room literature" to the literature of the common people was a target of the advocate and a fine tradition of the new literature. The center of Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art was to link literature with the masses. The formulation of the "orientation of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers" symbolized a new development of this tradition: The realization of the true integration of literature and the masses.

Over the past year or so, the discussion on the subject of literature and the spreading of modernism have produced a profound influence on the study of modern literature. Certain trends in the theory of mechanical reflection and certain deviations neglecting the dynamic role of the subject and other methods and factions of literary creation have been corrected. But at the same time, on the relationship between the subject and object of literary creation, some people have gone to extremes. They have unlimitedly exaggerated the subject of literary creation and mechanically copied the viewpoints of some Western modernist schools rather than accepting them with a critical attitude. They hold that the main trend of literature in the 20th century is "the fundamental change in the aesthetic viewpoint from an objective position to a subjective position or from 'outside' to 'inside.'" Some said, "With the approach of a modern society, individual mental freedom will replace social contradiction and become the main trend of literature, and modernism will take the place of realism." Based on this viewpoint, they have negated the tradition of revolutionary realism since "May 4th" and negated that social life is the only source of literature and art, especially the orientation of "serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers." As everyone knows, the theoretical basis of revolutionary realism is the Marxist theory of reflection. A principle difference between this theory and mechanical materialism is that it emphasizes the role of practice in man's recognition and applies dialectics in the course of reflection. On this question, Mao Zedong provided us with clear proofs in his *On Practice and Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art*. He attached great importance to the role of the subject and the transformation of the writers' world outlook and ideology. He opposed both subjective distortion and the mechanical reflection of reality and emphasized the important roles of "centralization" and "typicality" in the course of literary creation. He also advocated the integration of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism.

At present, some people have made use of certain formulations of Mao Zedong in criticizing self-expression and have denounced both the theory of literature reflection and socialist realism as mechanical materialism, saying with certainty that they will "result in the decline of literature." Following that, they have negated the practice of some writers who have come out of their original narrow circles and thrown themselves into the ocean of social transformation and mass movement to depict the life and struggle of the broad masses of people. They have one-sidedly emphasized the intelligence and self-expression of the subject of literary creation and the so-called "turning inward" to open up the "inner universe" and "subconsciousness." With individuals and individuality as the center and with the art of modernist and aestheticist factions as the criterion, they have denounced some modern writers by saying that "none of them has ever regarded himself as a unique 'individual' in the world, but has always closely linked his own fate with the fate of the nation." "The most typical example" was Guo Moruo, who even "changed himself 'overnight' from an outstanding 'self-expressive' writer into a 'political intellectual,' throwing his lot with the revolution." According to them, Guo Moruo should not have used his pen to participate in the Northern Expedition and should not have returned to China from Japan and taken part in the War of Resistance Against Japan. He should have "always belonged to 'himself'" and "expressed himself." Otherwise, his "color" as a poet would fade. It is really astonishing that the person who made these comments has taken the rotten viewpoints of the Western bourgeoisie as fashionable "ideas of our time" and used them to reappraise Guo Moruo! According to these viewpoints, patriotism, the theory of reflection, and the integration of writers and the people are all among those to be excluded, and literature should return to the "sitting room" and the "ivory tower" and become a patent of a small number of intellectual aristocrats.

The same pattern of thinking can also be seen from the appraisal of many other works. For example, the "hot spot" in the study of Lu Xun has been shifted to the question of "self-expression." Even in the study of his great realistic works, such as *Call to Arms* and *Wandering*, some people are also fond of talking about the "desperateness" and "nihilism" of Lu Xun. Thus, the call to "save the children" made by Lu Xun in his *A Madman's Diary* and the optimistic ending of *My Old Home* are also regarded as "faulty expressions in writing," and the love tragedy *Regret for the Past* is explained as a work of self-expression, which "expresses the trembling of a soul lacking spiritual ballast!" As to Mao Dun's works, they appreciate only his depiction of some "self-expressive" characters such as "Miss Jing, Fang Luolan," and Zhao Huiming. At the same time, the significance of some of his major works reflecting social realities, including *Midnight* and *Lin's Store*, has been played down. All these are by no means isolated cases.

If one emphasizes one-sidedly the subject and self-expression, one will inevitably negate the principles that the people are the mother of literature and art workers and that "the people need literature and art, but the latter needs the former more." One will inevitably negate the orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers. On the question of "rewriting the history of literature," one will inevitably ignore or write off the great achievements of the literature and art of the liberated areas and modern socialist literature and art.

As to the writers from among the workers and peasants, represented by Zhao Shuli, some people contemptuously call them "naive people," unworthy of attention. Concerning the intellectuals represented by Ding Ling, who were making themselves closer to the workers and peasants, some people advocating rewriting the history of literature have only praised some of their "self-expressive" and "individualistic intensive" works that "depict themselves while depicting the workers and peasants" and the images of Meng Ke, Sha Fei, Zhen Zhen, and Lu Ping. But a series of works starting with *Tianyachong*, especially *The Sun Shines Over the Sanggan River*, have been blamed. Some said that "in the depiction of human feelings and in artistic quality, it is far inferior to *Miss Sha Fei's Diary*" while others said that "all its characters were organized with class relations," and "there was only a political theme, which many other writers had already reflected or would reflect in their works. From it people cannot see the special feelings of Ding Ling." What on earth had Ding Ling done wrong by "organizing the characters with class relations" when depicting the land reform and reflecting the class struggle launched by the peasants to overthrow the landlords? Those who advocate rewriting the history of literature hold that the theme of self-expression and individualistic expansion, which many writers, including Ding Ling, have long been bored with, has now been fully depicted. At the same time, they are shouting that the new life and new theme that have just emerged and that Ding Ling has also just begun to write about have been "over-depicted." What kind of logic is this?

The subject and object of literature and self-expression and the depiction of the people's life and social struggle are not antagonistic to each other. In philosophy, the subject is man and the object is the objective world that existed earlier than man's appearance and is independent of man's will. However, man is by no means passive. Man recognizes and remolds the objective world through his social practice. In literary creation, literature is an artistic creation. The writers must give full play to their roles as the subject and develop their talent, wisdom, personality, and style. Only thus can they achieve successes. But no one was born a writer. The role of a writer as the subject cannot be separated from the objective world. "The artistic life of all progressive literature and art workers lies in their flesh-and-blood ties to the people." Literature cannot be created merely through long, hard thinking by an individual without absorbing materials and feelings from the surrounding

world. Therefore, in the final analysis, literature cannot be created without a foundation. By emphasizing that the people's life is the only source of revolutionary literature and art, we mean to nourish the subject and give full play to its functions rather than to restrict its growth and strangle it. At present, some people have set the subject against the object, emphasizing "the replacement of social contradictions by the mental freedom of the subject." As a result, the sources for the subject will inevitably be cut off, and phenomena such as material lust and pornography will spread. Are these not the problems of some literary creations at present? To exclude realism and to worship modernism is not a mere question of method in literary creation. It is aimed at negating the mainstream and tradition of literature since "May 4th," negating the principle of the theory of reflection in the study of literature, and negating the orientation of literature and art workers plunging into the thick of life and literature and art serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers, which was advocated by Mao Zedong. Of course, literature is creative mental labor. "It is absolutely necessary to ensure a broad area for the individual creativity and hobbies of writers and a broad area for their thinking and imagination as well as for the form and content of their works." Therefore, writers are entirely free to choose their methods of creation and the materials and themes for their works. However, in a socialist country under the leadership of the Communist Party, they must serve the people and serve socialism. Therefore, there must be correct guidance for literary creation, and bourgeois liberalization should not be allowed. The study of the history of literature is a science. In this field, it is more necessary to check the spread of bourgeois liberalization and to adhere to the guiding ideology of Marxism. If we get confused in the guiding ideology, everything will be in a mess. For this reason, the most important thing is to correct the guiding ideology.

#### Counterattack the Challenge to the Marxist Materialist Conception of History—Summary of a Forum of Some Historians on the Appraisal and Analysis of Three Historical Works by Jin Guantao

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[Text] With a view to adhering to the Marxist materialist conception of history and to further leading the struggle against bourgeois liberalization in the realm of the science of history in depth, on 13 and 14 December last year, the editorial departments of LISHI YANJIU [HISTORY], ZHONGGUOSHI YANJIU [CHINESE HISTORY], JINDAISHI YANJIU [CONTEMPORARY HISTORY], SHIJIE LISHI [WORLD HISTORY], and SHIXUE LILUN [THEORY OF HISTORY] of the Academy of Social Sciences of China jointly invited

some historians of five provinces and municipalities, including Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Jilin, and Shandong, to a forum to appraise and analyze the works by Jin Guantao, *Prosperity and Crisis—On the Overstable Structure of Chinese Feudal Society, Behind the Historical Idea, and Evolution of Western Social Structure*. The forum was presided over by Tian Jujian, chief editor of LISHI YANJIU. Lin Zhichun, Liao Xuesheng, Lin Xiuming, Shen Dingping, Tian Changwu, Lin Gangtan, Jiang Dachun, Pang Zhuoheng, Ding Shouhe, Chen Qineng, Hu Shengwu, Wang Sizhi, Xia Liangcai, and Li Zude spoke one after another. The forum solemnly and earnestly analyzed the serious questions of these three books on the theory of knowledge, methodology, and the style of study and exposed Jin Guantao's idealist colors.

#### A. Idealism in the Theory of Knowledge

##### 1. The Overstable Structure of the Antimaterialist Conception of History

Many comrades pointed out that Jin Guantao had stated that he "used historical materialism as a guide" to his study, but he negated this premise when he used the system of the "overstable structure" built with the method of cybernetics and of the theory of system to explain why Chinese feudal society was so long. It is because: a) On the strength of the mutual regulation and mutual causation of three subsidiary systems—economy, politics, and ideology—in the social structure, he negates the economic determinism of the materialist conception of history. It goes without saying that the materialist conception of history does not deny interaction among the economy, politics, and ideology, but, at the same time, it holds that the "decisive factor in the historical course is, in the final analysis, production and reproduction in real life" (quotation from Engels). This is the basic distinction between the materialist conception of history and the idealist conception of history. Jin Guantao said that, in studying social structure as a whole, the "ultimate reason was insignificant." This shows that he does not admit the basic principle that determinant social consciousness exists in society and that the economic foundation determines the superstructure. In fact, he does not treat the functions of the three subsidiary systems—the economy, politics, and ideology—on an equal basis. He considers that the characteristic of the structure of Chinese feudal society was a unified domain and the reason for its formation was the integration of political structure and ideological structure, namely, a bureaucratic organ organized by Confucian scholars with a unified belief and a unified theory of the state to perform its function in administering the state. That is to say, Confucian scholars and the doctrine of the Confucian school, in the final analysis, plays a decisive role. b) The materialist conception of history holds that the contradictions between the productive forces and productive relations, the contradictions between the economic foundation and superstructure, and the contradictions and struggle between the classes give an impetus to the development and changes in society. However, Jin Guantao believes that any one social

structure must rely on its own regulation mechanism to maintain an orderly state, but the alienation of the regulation function will give rise to a disorganized force and the result of the growth of such a force will lead to disorder and disintegration of the social structure. Large-scale peasant uprisings broke out in feudal society at intervals of 200 to 300 years and this was just the result of the disorganized force running rampant. This periodic vibration played a part in removing the disorganized force so as to enable society to tend toward orderliness and stability again. The so-called "disorganized force" is an ambiguous and vague concept that can be stuffed with all kinds of content, and the application of its growth and decline to explain the recurring disintegration and restoration of the social structure, in fact, negates the basic principle of the materialist conception of history that it is the basic social contradictions that push society forward. c) Jin Guantao holds that the overstable structure of Chinese feudal society appeared, on the whole, to be "unchanged for a long period." The materialist conception of history states that the development of human society is a natural historical course of evolution from a lower stage to a higher stage. For various reasons, the social development of different countries and nations differs in sequence and in speed, but the social structure of any one country and nation will not be eternally unchanged and social formation in the "living fossil" age does not exist. The rise, development, and decline of Chinese feudal society showed the nature of stages, the nature of gradual progression, and the nature of development, and was not recurring in a cycle and in a closed way nor remaining unchanged in a static and ossified way, but was a spiral motion and was representative of the movement of human society. The so-called theory of the overstable structure fundamentally runs counter to the objective laws of historical development and is an absurd metaphysical subjective assertion.

##### 2. The Philistine Theory of System Is Used To Conceal the Western Theory of Center

The vital part of Jin Guantao's *Evolution of Western Social Structure* is to use the philistine theory of system to conceal the Western theory of center. Through the *Behind the Historical Idea*, he "proves" that, since ancient times and subject to a "vibration-repair" mechanism, Chinese social structure has been an "overstable structure" that has moved in cycles and stagnated. Subsequently, through *Evolution of Western Social Structure*, he "proves" that since ancient times, Western social structure has had a mechanism that has promoted its structural functions and achieved progressive transformation. The integration of these two "companion volumes" leaves a "self-evident" conclusion, which is that only by using the Western-style social structure to break with its own "overstable structure" can China find a way out. While assuming the post of an adviser on the *River Elegy*, he clearly, definitely, and distinctly stated this. Although time and again he has claimed to

use the theory of system to "develop" historical materialism, he discards historical materialism in essence in the issue of the basic theory.

### 3. Beginning With the Suspicion and Misinterpretation of the Materialist Conception of History and Finally Entering the Mire of Idealism

Jin Guantao chose the mission of rejecting and negating the role of the materialist conception of history as a guide to the historical science, he has been involved in the realm of historical study from the very beginning and has fairly conscientiously taken a wrong theoretic road. While he began putting forward in the first issue of QIUYANG SHIYUAN XUEBAO in 1980 that Chinese feudal society was "overstable society," he considered that the ultimate reason for the materialist conception of history in the development of social history showed that it was "one-sided" and "helpless." He further asserted in 1985 that, at most, philosophy can only explain achievements in the study of social history, but it cannot guide study; otherwise, it will result in conclusive apriorism. This is a proposition for peddling positivism of the Western logic. In his book *Human Philosophy*, he asserts categorically and more absurdly that the nature of things cannot be dwelt on without human perception. He goes to the length of saying that the "nature of an object independent of our perception and consciousness is merely an old illusion" and the "moon really does not exist when nobody looks at it!" He has so far completely negated the objective nature of things in the real world. This is the theory that Jin Guantao has pursued for more than 10 years.

### B. Cybernetics and the Theory of System Are Indiscriminately Copied in Methodology

The participants in the forum pointed out that Jin Guantao's mistake in methodology is to simply, directly, and unconditionally apply the achievements in natural science, including cybernetics and the theory of system, to historical study.

The theory of system and cybernetics was born in the 1940's and has developed to the present. They are still theoretically in an incompletely mature state. The theory of system and cybernetics were born of specific scientific and technological departments and there has not been enough time to sort them out theoretically and systematically and to give classical explanations. The birth and application of the theory of system and cybernetics were not the result of Western natural scientists' conscious application of materialist dialectics, and they are affected by Western schools of philosophy in expounding principles and method and can hardly reflect completely and materialistically the dialectical process. The basic characteristics of the theory of system and cybernetics are: On the basis of the premise of given facts and through the integration of the internal structure of the system with the surrounding environment and the regulation mechanism of information feedback, the conditions for the existence and continuation of the existing

system are sought. Such characteristics and the immaturity of the process of their development make them able to study the questions of social life only in some aspects under the restriction of the pattern of study of social science, and they do not possess the universal significance of methodology.

Jin Guantao's so-called "overstable system" is a non-principal concept of the numerous concepts mentioned by Aishibi [5337 0087 3024], expert in cybernetics, in the book *Introduction to Cybernetics*, and is merely a hypothesis put forward in the study of "artificial intelligence." However, Jin Guantao disregards the scientific law of the development of thinking, regards this hypothesis as proven scientific truth, alters an extremely restrictive specific concept of natural science, exaggerates that it is a law universally applicable in social science, and, on this foundation, builds up his theoretic system of the social structure. His absurdity is apparent.

Jin Guantao uses cybernetics to study the law of the development of Chinese feudal society and is divorced from the nature of historical science and the characteristics of study. Proceeding from the stability of the system, cybernetics approaches the conditions for the existence and continuation of the system and faces the substance in the natural science. With the process of social development and movement as a premise, historical science studies social changes and evolution and, except for the documents and archaeological data left behind, the object of study does no longer exists. The object of study, the aims, and the conditions of both of them are totally different. Therefore, if the former is simply, directly, and unconditionally applied to the latter, it will surely give rise to great deviations and errors and cause extreme confusion and support for the whole fact will almost be lost. Jin Guantao's failure is a proof.

### C. Pruning and Inventing History at Will in the Style of Study

The participants in the forum pointed out that, due to the fact that Jin Guantao's theoretic system does not generalize and draw conclusions from objective historical facts but was fabricated subjectively, he, therefore, pruned and invented history at will. For example, to explain the convergence of the "disorganized force," he holds that the officials at the later stage of every dynasty were "either wicked or pedantic" and did not merit appointment, and he makes an irresponsible statement that is little short of being ridiculous. He divides the pattern of social development into four types, namely, static, extinct, collapsed but repaired, and structural replacement, and actually confuses social formation with civilization formation. He regards "loyalty to a king" as an important content of the Confucian theory of the state, but, in dealing with the importation of Confucianism to Japan, he says again that the idea of loyalty to a king accepted by the Japanese samurai is not a theory of state, but an ethical concept. Although they are the same idea of "loyalty to a king," he can explain it

differently to suit his needs. He regards the existence of the Confucian scholar stratum with unified beliefs as a condition for the formation of a unified territorial state. In fact, unification in the Qin dynasty used the doctrine of the legalists, rather than the doctrine of the Confucianists, as a guide and the existence of the Confucian scholar stratum was the result of, not the reason for, a unified domain.

While writing the book, *Evolution of Western Social Structure*, he almost did not read any of hundreds monographs by Chinese and foreign scholars who have studied this subject for several decades, and the only monograph on which he based himself and from which he made quotations was a Chinese translation of the *History of the Medieval Economy and Society* by Thompson that was published some half a century ago and in which many of the expositions are obsolete. Even so, Jin Guantao extracted some phrases from its first chapter and, after misinterpreting their meaning, used them to support his conclusion. This fully discloses his abominable style of study by using his imagination to invent history. For instance, Thompson clearly and definitely said, "Agriculture constituted the main source of wealth of the Roman empire" and "in the age of the empire, Italy proper was already a large hereditary manor and great landlord manor state." However, Jin Guantao depicts the Roman empire as a "large country with thousands of cities scattered all over like stars in the sky and with engineering, technology, and commodity economy." Furthermore, for example, Thompson said, "Many taxes levied by the Roman empire were paid in kind" but they were converted into money in the reports by the tax collection officials. However, the conclusion reached by Jin Guantao is that the taxes of the Roman empire "were paid in the main in the form of money." Moreover, Jin Guantao says that the existence of the Roman city-state and army group was determined by the city freemen "eating commodity grain," but the fact was that the citizens of the city-state were mainly medium-sized and small-sized landowners. To serve in the army was related to the possession of land, and those who lost their land had no right to serve in the army. After Gaius Marius completed the military reform, to perform military service became a method of enabling the citizens who had lost their land to acquire land again. It can be seen that Jin Guantao is extremely ignorant of the history of the Roman empire and his expositions on the structure of the feudal society of Western Europe do not basically tally with the actual historical course.

#### D. Adhere to Materialist Conception of History, Overcome "Jin Guantao Phenomenon"

The participants in the forum pointed out that, so far as academic value or attitude toward pursuit of studies is concerned, Jin Guantao's so-called "creations" in the historical realm are undesirable. The question is why such valueless things could long cause a "sensational effect" and why the "third discussion of the science of history" and the "new third discussion of the science of history" emerged at home later. The tendency regarded

as representative of the development of the "new science of history" in a fairly long period, in fact, does not exist in the development of the international science of history. The reason for failing to correct for a long time the practice of taking false things as valuable things is that, basically, it is connected with the major climate of inconsistently combating bourgeois liberalization and that the guiding role of the Marxist materialist conception of history has not always been emphasized. In the development of the science of history, it is, therefore, necessary to adhere unwaveringly to the guidance of the Marxist materialist conception of history and to resolutely correct the "Jin Guantao phenomenon." Moreover, judging from the common academic practice and attitude toward pursuit of studies, some lessons are worth drawing. We must advocate an honest scientific attitude, the spirit of working hard to pursue studies, and a strict and down-to-earth style of study. We must negate the practices of being keen on a "sensational effect," being eager to build a huge system, and easily announcing a solution to an "unsolvable historical enigma." While drawing lessons from the "Jin Guantao phenomenon," we do not mean that, in the future, we need not study the development of the international science of history, probe into the innovation of the science of history, and strengthen international academic exchanges. Conversely, we must work hard in these aspects in the future. The question is how to do it and how to do it better. To sum up, we must adhere to the party's basic line and integrate two basic points well without neglecting either one.

#### Mao Zedong and His Secretary Tian Jiaying, Part V

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[Article by Feng Xianzhi (6646 0341 4249) of the CPC Party Literature Research Center]

#### [Text] XIII. The Hunan Investigation and the System of Contracting Output Quotas to Households With the Production Team Conducting Unified Accounting

Shortly after the close of the congress of 7,000 people, Mao Zedong left Beijing for the south. Before leaving, he asked Tian Jiaying to revise his speech at the congress. In late February Tian and I arrived in Hangzhou. He had the revised manuscript with him. Mao, not too satisfied with this manuscript, wrote a comment on it in a mild and tactful tone, the gist of which was that he felt it would be better for him to revise the speech himself. What Mao did was making some minor linguistic change to the audio tape-recording of the speech. Otherwise the speech remained intact. Later, he revised and polished it several times, and added a few long paragraphs to it. Each revised version was sent to Tian for proofreading. He also had Tian check on some history texts for him.

At this time Mao was still very concerned with agriculture. He did not slacken his efforts to understand the situation of the rural areas. He had Tian see him on 25

February and asked Tian to form another team to conduct investigation on Hunan, the main goal of which was to find out about the thorough execution of the "60 Articles" and its problems.

Mao was always like that. Either he did not grasp a question or, once he did so, he was persistent and thorough about it. His famous remark was "If you don't grasp a question tight, you might as well not grasp it." This was how he worked. The peasant question always occupied a position of special importance in Mao's thinking. It was so during the period of democratic revolution as well as during that of socialism. He said in 1961 that "China has 500 million peasants. If you do not unite them, you would be overturned no matter how much industry you have and how large your Anshan Iron and Steel Company is." (From Mao's speech at the Guangzhou conference on 23 March 1961.) He also said, "In a country like China, you cannot achieve anything without involving peasants." (From Mao's conversation with responsible cadres from the central bureau on 21 May 1961.)

Mao told Tian to conduct investigation in four places: Shaoshan (Mao's birthplace) in Xiangtan County, Tangjia (Mao's mother's birthplace) in Xiangxiang County, Tanzichong (Liu Shaoqi's birthplace) in Ningxiang County, and Tianhua Production Brigade (where Liu stayed in March and April 1961 to gain first-hand experience) in Changsha. Mao reminded Tian to go to Liu Shaoqi to see if Liu had any instructions for him and whether any of Liu's staff wished to take part in the investigation. After arriving at Beijing, Tian made a report to Liu. Liu was agreeable to the idea of the investigation team. He was also concerned about the investigation team. He said it was still cold in Hunan Province in March and he could borrow some cotton-padded coats from the provincial party committee for the investigation team.

Tian set up a 17-person team and divided it into three groups, which went to Shaoshan, Daping (that is, Tangjiaao), and Tanzichong Production Brigades. No group was sent to Tianhua Production Brigade.

Mao had high expectations for this investigation. He believed that Tian's investigation this time would be a great help to him as the last investigation in Zhejiang had been. He met with all members of the investigation team at the Donghu Hostel in Wuchang on 22 March. Wang Renzhong, at that time first secretary of the Hubei provincial party committee, was also present at this meeting. Team members were excited to hear that Mao would see them that afternoon. Mao first asked for each person's name, then told a few political jokes popular at that time. He appeared cheerful and humorous. Lastly, he voiced his expectations for the team. First, team members should integrate with cadres at the provincial, local, county, and commune levels. Second, they should not rashly give wrong orders. Third, they should not carry preconceived notions (meaning ideological restrictions) with them. They should bring only one thing with

them—Marxism. Fourth, they should conduct historical investigation, which was a Marxist historical viewpoint. Fifth, they should not spread rumors about bad people and bad deeds, but they could talk about good people and good deeds. Sixth, they should take part in light labor. I still remember clearly the warm and relaxed manner in which Mao talked to us.

To Tian, the focus of this investigation was on how to recover agricultural production. At that time, Chen Yun was also organizing some people to thoroughly investigate this problem. Organizations at all levels of the party were also studying this problem. Tian planned to draft on behalf of the party Central Committee a document entitled "10 Major Policies on Recovering Agricultural Economy" based on findings from the investigation.

At the end of March, all members of the investigation team arrived in the countryside. Tian stayed at Shaoshan. I stayed at the home of a commune member whose surname was Zou. His place was next to Mao's former residence. This was in Nanan Production Team in Shaoshan. As a child, Mao attended an old-style private school here. Right by the school was the pond where he used to swim during his childhood. Farther away, on a tree-lined mound, was the graveyard of Mao's parents. Although Shaoshan suffered damage during the Great Leap Forward, its mountain forest was quite well preserved. It was still beautiful with green and luxuriant trees. At night, the moon was bright and the wind light. Walking in the open country and on a rugged mountain path, you would see a beautiful view of another kind. The father of the commune member Zou was one of the peasants who carried Mao in a sedan chair to escape danger from Shaoshan in 1925. Zou's father had long passed away.

Since implementation of "60 Articles" and abandonment of the mess hall and the supply system of payment in kind, and later the transfer of the basic accounting unit down to the production team, the initiative of commune members had risen significantly. Their production and livelihood had improved. However, once we entered the village, we encountered an unexpected phenomenon. Commune members generally demanded the system of dividing land among households and contracting output quotas to households, with the production team conducting unified accounting. Demand was strong, especially from Shaoshan and Daping. It was better in Tanzichong. Some said this was because Liu Shaoqi had criticized the system of contracting output quotas to households during an investigation in his birthplace in 1961. Neither Tian nor other team members were prepared for the phenomenon. The peasants illustrated with evidence the many advantages of the system of contracting output quotas to households with the production team conducting unified accounting, and pointed out the disadvantages and difficulties of collective economy since the people's commune movement. Sometimes they debated with comrades of the investigation team until late night.

Tian was against the system of contracting output quotas to households, with the production team conducting unified accounting. During the Guangzhou conference in March 1961, he submitted to Mao a document on this system as it was practiced in Anhui Province. (Zeng Xisheng, whom Mao trusted, was first secretary of the Anhui provincial party committee.) Tian also wrote Mao a letter. When he read in the document about the difficulties in the production and lives of commune members, especially widows and orphans, who lacked labor power, he could not control his emotion. He wrote the letter in tears. In the letter were these lines: "In the absence of any alternative, the widows had to turn to each other for help. They said that 'if the system of contracting output quotas to households with the production team conducting unified accounting is implemented and we widows are not included, we request that a cow and a plow be given us so that the eight of us can help each other. Even if we have to crawl in order to reach the field, we will do so.' One almost weeps at these lines. We have made the situation worse. At this difficult moment we talk about such things as contracting output quotas to households and abandon members of the masses who lack support. As a Communist, I cannot face my conscience on this." The letter also stated that the system of contracting output quotas to households could be an experiment, but not a widespread practice. "Our direction is to rely on the collective economy to overcome difficulties and develop production, and we must not waver in it." Tian's stance and sentiment in this letter was in line with Mao's. Mao immediately circulated the document and Tian's letter to members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and secretaries of several major regions. When Tao Zhu saw Tian, he said, "Jiaying, I agree with your opinion." Chen Yun did not quite support Tian's idea. He said, "We should allow Anhui to experiment with the system of contracting output quotas to households!"

A year passed. After investigation, Tian's idea changed. He listened seriously to peasants' opinions, thought about them, and found them convincing. Some members of the investigation team also supported the idea of contracting output quotas to households. Tian organized a discussion session with all members of the team and encouraged them to bring out all their thoughts. Those for and against the system had a heated discussion. However, they argued with reason and in calmness. There was no such thing as violence or labelling. Tian seriously and soberly listened to both sides. Those who opposed the system gained the upper hand, but Tian still encouraged the few who supported the system to continue studying the question.

Tian was in conflict. He believed that, in reality, implementing the system of contracting output quotas to households or dividing land among households with the production team conducting unified accounting would help to recover production. On the other hand, he felt that it was an important issue and he must not introduce any change without careful thought. He of all people

must be cautious about this issue, especially in a place like Shaoshan. (Everybody knew he was Mao's secretary and was sent by Mao to conduct investigation in Shaoshan.) Any move here would certainly influence the whole province and cause difficulty in its work. (Actually, as early as March 1961, some rural areas in Hunan Province had already secretly but unofficially implemented the system of contracting output quotas. However, important places in Hunan, such as Changsha and Xiangtan, had not been affected.) Privately, Tian told me many times that when production was still characterized by manual labor, the family economy of dividing land and contracting output quotas to households still had its merit in overcoming the severe difficulty then, and that it was hard to continue with a collective economy. He was beginning to contemplate employing the system of dividing land and contracting output quotas to households to pull through the difficulty. However, in public and in front of peasants and cadres, he did not give in a bit to demands to implement that system.

With conflicting thoughts, Tian went with me to Shanghai to report to Mao. Chen Yun was also in Shanghai then. We submitted the investigation reports on the three sites to Mao and Chen at the same time, but the responses were very different. Chen praised the reports and said they had a "distinct view." Before that Tian had mailed to Liu Shaoqi the investigation report on Tanzichong Production Brigade. Liu read it carefully and thought it was a good report. On the contrary, Mao appeared indifferent. He had probably not read it and had just listened to Tian's verbal report. Mao said to Tian, "We should take the mass line. But sometimes we cannot listen to everything the masses say. For example, we should not listen to them on the question of contracting output quotas." This was yet another time when Mao expressed clearly his view on the question. Practice later showed that contracting output quotas to households with the production team conducting unified accounting, that is, the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output, still kept some of the merits of the collective ownership system. On this basis we can still enforce two-tier operation, two-way contracting, and help agriculture with industry until conditions are ready for large-scale operation. It is not the same as dividing land among households, and it suits the production conditions of most rural areas in China.

While in Shanghai, Tian received a telephone call from Yang Shangkun in Beijing, "The premier told me to ask you if the private sector of the rural areas can be expanded?" Tian immediately gave an answer in the affirmative.

When we returned to Shaoshan from Shanghai, the investigation was approaching an end. Tian did not relay Mao's opinion. At this time, the system of contracting output quotas was gaining momentum in the whole country. There was rising demand for it and it had become an important topic of discussion in the party. To

find out more about this question, Tian sent two comrades to go immediately to Wuwei County, Anhui Province, to study how the system of contracting output quotas worked there. The conclusion from the investigation was roughly this: The system of contracting output quotas was definitely advantageous and necessary in order to save the damaged collective economy from crisis and to quickly rebuild agricultural production; however, when we want to further develop the agricultural economy in the future, it may have to be restricted.

It was the end of June when we returned to Beijing. The voices we heard in Beijing on contracting output quotas to households were more or less the same as those we heard in provinces, only that those in Beijing sounded more theoretical and systematic.

Once back in Beijing, Tian made a report to Liu Shaoqi. As soon as he had started with the report, Tian was interrupted by Liu, who said, "The situation now is very clear." Then Liu put forth his views in detail on how to implement the system of contracting output quotas to households and on the current situation. Tian asked, "Comrade Shaoqi, may I report your opinions to the Chairman?" To which Liu answered, "You may." Liu also asked Tian to brew his opinions among the 'scholars' to see what they would think about them. Because Liu was cautious and wanted to hear what the 'scholars' really thought, he asked Tian not to mention this was his opinion. Then, Tian reported to Deng Xiaoping on his plan to draft "10 Major Policies on Recovering the Rural Economy." Deng did not say much. He simply said, "Agree." Tian immediately organized a group to do the drafting. His guiding thought was that a system of multiple forms of ownership should be implemented in rural areas across the nation, which would include collective and semicollective ownership, contracting output quotas to households with the production team conducting unified accounting, and division of land among commune members for them to "go it alone" so as to quickly recover and develop agricultural production. At the same time, Tian presented his views and suggestions to several other leaders of the central authorities and won agreement from all of them.

Things appeared to be proceeding smoothly. However, whether the central authorities decided to implement the system of contracting output quotas depended on one crucial point—Mao's consent. Tian seemed to feel confident, for all the comrades of the Standing Committee of the party Central Committee supported this system or at least did not oppose it. On the other hand, Tian's heart was not at peace. He was wondering what Mao thought about the issue. He knew it was risky to propose such a thing at that time, but he put aside his personal gains and losses and decided to present his ideas to Mao as a secretary. At this point, Mao was on an inspection tour in Handan, Hebei Province. Tian made a long-distance phone call to Mao requesting an opportunity to present his ideas in person. The answer from the other end was, "the Chairman says do not rush!" From this line we could slightly feel Mao's impatience.

Two days later, Mao was back in Beijing. Tian was summoned to him. The place was the swimming pool in Zhongnanhai. Tian systematically presented his opinions and suggestions, the gist of which was: Presently about 30 percent of peasants in the whole nation practice the system of dividing land among households and contracting output quotas to them, and the trend is developing. Rather than letting peasants do it on their own, we might as well carry it out under our leadership. In the future, those in the system of contracting output quotas to households and division of land among commune members for them to "go it alone" may reach 40 percent. The other 60 percent will be in collective and semicollective economies. It is a temporary measure to introduce contracting output quotas to households and division of land among commune members for them to "go it alone." When production has recovered, we can lead them back to the collective economy.

Mao listened without saying anything. This was a sharp contrast to Liu, who could not wait and interrupted Tian's report and poured out his own ideas without reservation. At the end, Mao suddenly asked Tian, "Are you suggesting collective economy or individual economy as the mainstream economy?" Tian was not prepared for this surprise question and did not know what to answer. Mao continued, "Is this your own idea or other people's?" Tian said it was his own idea. Mao did not say anything. Not commenting was actually a comment, only that Mao did not put it in words.

Tian felt bad on his way back from the swimming pool. He said, "The Chairman was so sharp." He meant Chairman Mao raised a sharp question, which he did not know how to answer. Mao was good at grasping the essence of what others said and raising surprise questions so that the other party could not answer in a vague manner or avoid the essence of the question, and had to present his viewpoint in a definite manner.

I think it was the next day that Mao called a meeting. Tian attended it, so did Chen Boda. Mao finally talked. He criticized Tian for not revising "60 Articles" but instead making a fuss about contracting output quotas to households and dividing land among commune members. At the meeting Mao appointed Chen to draft on behalf of the party Central Committee a resolution to consolidate the collective economy and further develop agricultural production.

Mao seemed to have a special love for the "60 Articles" on people's communes. He said many times that it was still the same people and the same land, but with "60 Articles" the rural situation was not the same. To him, with "60 Articles" and the transfer of the basic accounting unit down, the rural problem could be basically resolved at least in terms of adjusting production relations. Mao's bottom line in adjustment of the rural policy was to transfer the basic accounting unit down to the production team. Further adjustment, such as something like contracting output quotas to households, was, to him, taking the capitalist road.

Not long afterward, about early August, Mao conducted a Central Working Conference in Beidaihe, and raised such questions as class, the situation, and contradictions. Everybody knows about this.

A main agenda of the Beidaihe conference was to criticize contracting output quotas to households. It was the direct and immediate cause leading to the reemergence of the discussion on class struggle. Mao elevated this issue to the political level of whether it was proletarian or bourgeois dictatorship and whether we should take the socialist or capitalist road. He maintained that if contracting output quotas to households was implemented, in less than a year class polarization would become very serious. He envisaged a scenario of class polarization: "On the one hand, you see corruption, greed, high-interest loans, land buying, and men taking in concubines. Those involved in these practices include Communist Party members and party branch secretaries. On the other hand, you see bankruptcy. Those affected include family members of armymen, workers, revolutionary martyrs, and cadres, and households enjoying the five guarantees." (Mao's speech to a core group at the Central Working Conference on 9 August 1962.)

Mao still adhered to his thought formed during the period of cooperative transformation of agriculture: In the Chinese countryside, the contradiction between the two roads is manifested mainly in the contradiction between rich and poor peasants. Both parties want to win over rich peasants. The proletariat want to win them, so do the bourgeoisie. This contention may take 10 years or 100 years. It will span a whole historical phase.

What did the proletariat have to win over rich peasants? Mao thought it was the principle of "to each according to his labor." He said, "We represent poor and lower-middle peasants as well as some rich ones. Therefore we should enforce the principle of to each according to his labor and not too much egalitarianism." (Mao's speech on 9 August.) He also said, "However, it is impossible completely to do away with egalitarianism, such as abandoning basic food supply and care, and the 20 to 30 percent of the rural population who are households enjoying the five guarantees, households with difficulties, and families of armymen, workers, and revolutionary martyrs, who are our support in the rural areas, and just concentrate on distribution according to labor and winning over the rich class." (Speech on 5 August.)

Practice some egalitarianism—for the sake of poor peasants. Practice some distribution according to labor—for the sake of winning over and uniting rich peasants. Here Mao thought that to practice distribution according to labor was mainly for the purpose of winning over and uniting some rich peasants and not for uniting all peasants. This viewpoint was clearly one-sided and wrong. To a considerable extent this reflected his egalitarian viewpoint. On the one hand, he opposed egalitarianism and advocated implementation of distribution according to labor so as to mobilize the productive initiative of more people. On the other hand, he advocated partial

egalitarianism so as to prevent the emergence of "class polarization" and to guarantee the basic needs of the poor. In his old age, he kept searching for a way to both mobilize the production initiative of the masses which would promote production, and to prevent class polarization and guarantee social equality. We cannot say that Mao neglected the importance of developing production. It was he who put forth the idea of changing the backward face of China and building China into a strong socialist nation wherein industry was developed and the people were well-educated, and he strove to make this a reality. However, if he placed developing production on one end and preventing class polarization and realizing social equality on the other end of a balance, he would always give more weight to the latter.

At the 8th Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee that followed, Mao asserted that we must "talk (about class struggle) every year and every month."<sup>1</sup> However, remembering the lesson from the Lushan conference, Mao reminded everybody this time that "in no way should we let class struggle hinder our work. You must put work in the first place. Class struggle is parallel to work, and not above and beyond it. Do not let class struggle disrupt your work." Liu Shaoqi and some other leaders of the central government also emphasized this point. Therefore, the adjustment and recovery of the national economy could continue without disruption.

Tian attended the Beidaihe conference with anxiety. After the soul-stirring party struggle at the first Lushan conference, he was, of course, nervous and not sure what would happen. Fortunately, things looked all right and not as bad as he had expected. Mao criticized him only twice in a small group. Once the criticism was harsh, and Liu Shaoqi came out to say something to reduce the antagonism. The gist of what Liu said was that anything could be voiced inside the party. Something similar also happened at the first Lushan conference. Someone deliberately but wrongly exposed Tian and was stopped by Liu. Therefore, Tian was always respectful and grateful to Liu. Of course, it was not just because of these two incidents that he respected Liu.

What Tian found surprising was, at the plenary session held on the last day of the 10th Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, of all leaders of the party Central Committee who criticized the "going it alone wind," Mao's tone was the mildest. The others' tones were harsher. From what I understood and observed then and from my rereading of the meeting minutes, I think that those attending the meeting, from leaders at the national level to those at the provincial level, were convinced by Mao's opinions and theory. Some leaders of the central government were honest in what they said at the plenary session. Here was also reflected Mao's work style or art of leadership. When he wanted to correct what he thought was a wrong tendency, he would usually be fierce and harsh to awaken and frighten others. When the problem was more or less resolved and it was clear whether the right or wrong side had won, he

would talk more about unity and emphasized policies. This was the principle of "alternating tension and relaxation," which he often talked about.

There was nothing wrong in terms of content or organizational principle in Tian's advocating to Mao the system of contracting output quotas. However, not only was this reasonable suggestion rejected, it also once again caused a political breach between the two of them. From then on, Tian began to lose Mao's trust.

Those who had frequent contact with Mao knew that Mao cherished an affection for people. He never forgot those who had helped him, and would express his gratitude in action. However, anyone who had split with Mao on major political issues, that is, what was to Mao a question of line, would find it difficult to maintain Mao's trust, and Mao would not forget about it either.

From the 8th Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee on, Mao assessed the situation of class struggle in China to be worse and worse. His leftist thinking intensified, and it led finally to the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution. His adjustment of the system of rural people's communes also came to an end. He believed that the problems in rural production relations had been revolved and the focus now should be on industry supporting agriculture, especially on grasping class struggle. Later, the rural socialist education movement (known for short as the "four clean-ups movement") was launched across the nation.

Since losing Mao's trust, Tian had felt depressed. He always said "a scholar would die for the one who appreciated him." Now that he was misunderstood, he wished to leave Zhongnanhai. He planned to transfer down to be a county party committee secretary, do some investigation, study how socialism should be implemented, and do some concrete work for the masses. He discussed his plan with his wife, Dong Bian, who supported it. Dong said, "If they allow you to go, I will agree to your going too. You be your county party committee secretary, and I will be a director at the county Women's Federation." Tian asked me if I was willing to go with him and I said I was. I felt that I had stayed at an organization under the central government for a long time and should go to a lower level to do some practical work and receive practical training. Tian had thought about doing research on the history of the Qing dynasty. He told Mao about this wish and the wish to leave Zhongnanhai. Mao said, "Oh, so you practice book worship too!" and did not say anything about his request. Although Mao did not trust Tian as he did before, he still needed Tian in work. So he kept Tian by him and did not let him leave.

#### XIV. "Double 10 Articles"

After the 8th Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee, socialist education was launched in one rural area after another across China. In February 1963, Mao convened a Central Working Conference. An item of the agenda was to discuss socialist education in the rural areas.

This conference proposed that the "four clean-ups campaign" be launched in the rural area and poor and lower-middle peasants be organized to carry out the movement against the "five evils" in the urban areas, opposition to revisionism within the party, and so forth.

In May 1963, Mao convened a small conference attended by some committee members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of major regions. The main agenda was to discuss rural socialist education. He personally supervised the drafting of "Resolutions on a Number of Problems in Current Work on Rural Areas (Draft)," also known as "Former 10 Articles." This was a programmatic document that put into effect the spirit of "taking class struggle as the key link" and provided direction for rural socialist education.

Tian was not informed or invited to the February and May conferences and so could not possibly take part in the drafting of "Former 10 Articles." What a contrast this was to the trust and high regard he received two years before, when he attended the Guangzhou conference and drafted "60 Articles."

Tian always had reservation about making class and class struggle such serious problems. I remember during the Zhejiang investigation in 1961, someone said that production struggle was also class struggle, and Tian did not agree with him. When implementing "60 Articles," some people suggested putting it down as the league of poor peasants, which Tian did not agree to. At that time, he asked me to conduct an investigation specifically on middle peasants. At the beginning I did not quite understand the meaning of this question. Actually it was an important question that had escaped people's attention. It was from the angle of developing production that Tian raised this question to the central government and requested it to pay attention to it. At the May 1963 conference, Mao said somewhat critically that "in the formulation of '60 Articles' in 1961, there was no emphasis on class ranks and no attention on whom to rely." Of course, it was not Tian who decided not to touch on organizing class ranks, although I cannot say that he had nothing to do with it. I realize that, as to the question of how to view class and class struggle during the socialist phase, there was already in 1961 or even a bit earlier a rather distinct difference between Tian and Mao. Not that Tian denied that class struggle existed in the socialist phase. One can only say that he did not see class struggle as that important. In his own words, "we cannot put everything as class struggle." There were these lines in "Former 10 Articles": To rely on poor peasants and lower-middle peasants is a class line the party must carry out for a long time. During the entire socialist historical stage and until we enter communism, we should carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction in the rural areas and we should develop agricultural production. If we do not rely on them, on whom do we rely?" Tian did not quite agree with these words. He said they did not make sense and asked if class status could be inherited. His opinion was soon spread to the ears of those with leftist viewpoints and it was criticized for being a wrong viewpoint.

After "Former 10 Articles" was issued to the lower levels, all places followed the spirit of the document by launching experimental work on socialist education. In the experimental work, wrong leftist tendencies were revealed. For example, the scope of attack was too wide and policy boundaries were mixed up. There were documents from all places reporting this. Because of this, during the Central Working Conference in September 1963, Deng Xiaoping and Tan Zhenlin chaired the drafting of "Regulations on Some Concrete Policies on the Rural Socialist Education Movement (Draft)," also known as "Latter 10 Articles." Tian was one of the chief drafters. As his assistant, I took part in drafting the document. Reading this document (the draft) today, I cannot say it is not without problems. The socialist education movement itself was a product of "taking class struggle as the link," and in certain basic content it had to dovetail with "Former 10 Articles." However, the goal of drafting this document was to prevent and fight leftism. It set a series of policy boundaries and tried to narrow the scope of attack and to reduce negative impact on economic life. At the last meeting of the Central Working Conference, Deng Xiaoping declared to all participants that this document was on the whole a good one.

After "Latter 10 Articles (Draft)" was out, some people in the party, including some responsible people in the localities, criticized it as rightist. This undoubtedly put pressure on Tian. Just at this time, there was news from Wuhan that Mao would personally draft on behalf of the CPC Central Committee the instructions for the explanation and publicity of the two "10 Articles" (or "Double 10 Articles") in the whole nation. When we heard this news, we were relieved. "Latter 10 Articles (Draft)" had won Chairman Mao's recognition! That was in late October. "Latter 10 Articles (Draft)" was passed after discussion at a meeting of the Political Bureau on 14 November.

The issuance of "Latter 10 Articles (Draft)" did not and could not possibly check the socialist education movement from its continuing leftism. On the contrary, it met more and sharper criticism and disapproval inside the party. For example, it was said "Latter 10 Articles" was against "Former 10 Articles." In August 1964, Liu Shaoqi asked Tian to go with him to the south to revise "Latter 10 Articles (Draft)." Tian found himself in a difficult situation, for he differed from Liu on Liu's overly leftist assessment of the rural situation and cadres at the grassroots level and on some leftist actions Liu took in the "four clean-ups" movement. However, he had a lot of respect for Liu and also had to obey the organization. Therefore, though unwilling, Tian took part in revising the document.

One day before leaving Beijing for the south, Tian reported to Mao and asked him for instructions on how to revise the document. Mao mentioned two points. First, do not see cadres at the grassroots level as all dark. Second, do not assign large numbers of those involved to work on one aspect alone. Early the next morning, we followed Liu Shaoqi to board a special plane. We passed

by Wuhan and then arrived at Guangzhou. On the plane Tian told Liu about Mao's opinions.

In Guangzhou we began to revise the document. Liu personally chaired the work, and added some very sharp content and words to it. Tian found the work this time difficult, for it was hard to put down in writing opinions that he had not come round to.

The revised "Latter 10 Articles" was called "Revised Draft." This was the second "Latter 10 Articles" and was issued by the CPC Central Committee on 18 September 1964. The second "Latter 10 Articles" assessed the situation to be more serious. It asserted that this movement "was a large-scale mass movement, more widespread, more complex, and more profound than the land reform movement." It changed the original regulation of relying on organizations and cadres at the grassroots level to launch the movement, and rather emphasized mobilizing the masses as the main strategy. It also stipulated that the whole movement be led by the work team. This planted the mistake of launching too widespread and too heavy an attack on cadres at the grassroots level, so that the line between the enemy and the comrades became blurred.

Mao did not let Tian take part in the drafting of "Former 10 Articles," a programmatic document providing guidance on the socialist education movement. Tian volunteered to shoulder the responsibility of a chief drafter in taking part in the drafting of "Latter 10 Articles," a document that had some significance in preventing and fighting leftism. As for the revised draft of "Latter 10 Articles," a document with serious leftist errors, Tian took part in its drafting against his own will and had some ideological reservations about it. From the drafting and revision of these three documents, we can see that Tian had a different view on leftist practices in the socialist education movement.

Because of his dissatisfaction with the revised draft of "Latter 10 Articles," Mao convened a Central Working Conference from 5 to 28 December 1964. (This dissatisfaction already prevailed in the party then.) The conference passed "Some Problems Presently Raised in the Rural Socialist Education Movement," known for short as "23 Articles," the aim of which was to correct the mistakes in the previous document. The issuance of "23 Articles" relaxed for a short time the tension in the rural areas and reassured the numerous cadres at the grassroots level to a considerable extent. However, not only did it still wrongly assess the social and political situation in China, it also hailed the wrong principle of saying the main goal of this movement was to "rectify those in power in the party who take the capitalist road." This mistake provided a "theoretical basis" for the Cultural Revolution. More about this later.

#### Footnote

1. Mao's original words were: "We can start now to talk about it every year and every month. At each party congress and each plenary session of the CPC Central

Committee we talk about it, so that we will have a sober Marxist road." During the Cultural Revolution, these words were cited in an article entitled "Theoretical Weapon for the Revolution Carried Out Under Proletarian Dictatorship—in Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the Publication of 'On Correctly Handling Internal Contradiction Among the People'" that appeared in HONGQI [RED FLAG] No. 10, 1967. The words were revised to: "From now on we must talk (about class struggle) every year, every month, and every day, so that we will have a clear understanding of this question and have a Marxist-Leninist road." This editorial was submitted to Mao for checking and approval on 17 June and the whole text was published in RENMIN RIBAO on 20 June. On 8 July Mao returned the manuscript of the editorial to Wang Li with the comment, "Not going to read it." From this time on, "talk (about it) every year and every month" became "talk (about it) every year, every month, and every day."

(To be continued.)

### Revelations of *Literary Beggars*

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[Article by Huang Guozhu (7806 0948 2691)]

[Text] Having read through the novelette *Literary Beggars*, carried in the No. 3, 1989, issue of the journal KUNLUN [LOFTY PEAKS], I believe that Dai Jun [2071 0193], with whom I am familiar, has completed the transition from a soldier to a qualified editor of cultural publications. It is easy to see how difficult the process can be. This young man, who once settled down in the countryside on the banks of the Heilong Jiang and later enlisted in the Army stationed in the rural areas of Anhui, has experienced a long and winding road, and the contemplation of life reflected in his novel is profound and down-to-earth; especially, his critical tendency can be keenly felt amidst the flood of vulgar and pornographic literature surfacing in publication circles in recent years.

The hero of the novelette, Ma Bing, belongs to the category of the "graduates of the late 1960's." This generation could be obstinate and firm in its pursuit of the true, good, and beautiful in life, despite all kinds of hardships and sufferings it has gone through. However, such admirable strong points and merits are destined to be accompanied by irridicible pain with the devastation of all kinds of value in the flood of the commodity economy. On the other hand, they could not but get involved in the "cultural mire," and struggle for a way out. Just as Ma Bing put it: "Over the past 10 years, I was in uniform, and never for a minute did I deviate from what the motherland required me to do. And when the motherland no longer wants me to do anything specific, I am at a loss to be on my own." We should say that it is out of the need for subsistence that Ma Bing finds a job working at the journal FENGLIU NANNU [MERRY MEN AND WOMEN] and is responsible for the column "Rhapsody in Love" to edit such fist

products as "I Want to Degenerate a Thousand Times" and "The White Paper of My Sexuality." The hero ridicules himself as a "literary beggar." "Literary beggars" means those beggars among men of letters who make a living on their petty tricks and ways. Thus, a serious personality split has taken shape between faith, character, and the need for subsistence. How many upright and kind-hearted souls have been crushed by the invasion of the law governing the commodity economy in the cultural sphere! Although we can still find some people who can be as stubborn as Bu Lin in the FENGLIU NANNU office, who invariably sticks to "work, friendship, and love" in all matters. However, this cannot change the reality that the editorial department failed to maintain a living. Her "theory on a piece of glass blown into smithereens" can be shocking, but it is implemented only at the cost of "reducing to the lowly." In the painful choice either to reduce oneself to "the lowly" or to "a walking corpse," the hero and the author's perplexity is shown in his writing, from which we may perhaps find it not too difficult to grasp the complexity of Balzac in his late years in writing that "his beloved nobility" "is not destined to a better fate."

In line with such a mood, the novelette adopts a form of absurd narration that was never used in his past novels. Or we may put it that the author has substituted teasing, characterized by caricature, for poetic and artistic descriptions of noble sentiments that were characterized by the true, good, and beautiful in his past works. The endless, bored complaints of the janitor, Old Liang Tou, and his keen observation of the changes in the building over scores of years lend a strong depressive mood to the novelette. Its conclusion with the high-sounding ceremonies "to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the editorial department" is full of absurdity and irony: Occupying the VIP seats are "celebrities from the cultural, publication, and press circles, "great publishers, writers, editors and critics, cover designers, and first-rate proofreaders" who have made their appearances in this building over the past 30 years. What responsibility should they bear for the current flood of vulgar and pornographic publications? Should we continue to live in such muddleheadedness and self-conceit? Should we turn a blind eye to the worsening spiritual and cultural environment for the survival of our successors and do nothing about it? It is not difficult for us to see that a sincere and anxious heart is throbbing under the cloak of absurdity. We do not have to criticize the author's failure to point out to us a bright way to get rid of the impasse, nor should we blame him for the excessive passivity and helplessness embodied in his novelette, because our hearts are almost as heavy as his. It is not easy for a writer to voice in his work something that gives us much food for thought. At least this is not a kind of incorrigible apathy, nor is it an escape into the "ivory tower" of art. We are happy to see that the nationwide activities of "mopping up pornography" have dealt a fatal blow to "the root of pornography." We believe that, with the concerted efforts of the entire society, a situation of prosperity in socialist literature and art will eventually surface.

**END OF**

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